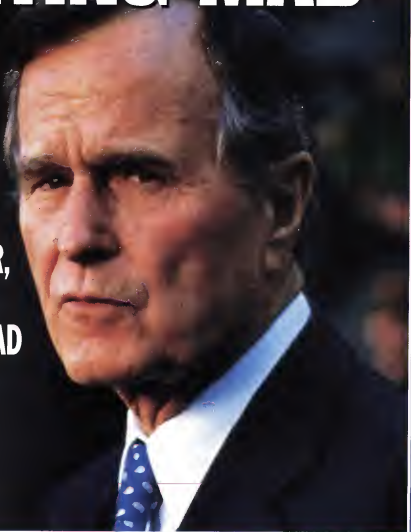


# Maclean's

A CANADIAN  
CAMPAIGN FOR  
CHEAPER FOOD

## FIGHTING MAD

WITH THE  
ELECTIONS OVER,  
GEORGE BUSH  
IS READY TO LEAD  
THE INVASION  
OF IRAQ





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# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE NOVEMBER 19, 1990 \$6.95 \$3.95 (US)

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## COVER

## FIGHTING MAD



Noters took revenge on President George Bush in the mid-term elections after his broken pledge not to raise taxes devastated his credibility. Even one wag of his own party was in open revolt. In his search for direction, Bush's political compass pointed back to the Middle East, as he campaigned against Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein, whom he again compared to Adolf Hitler.

— 32

## BUSINESS

## A CAMPAIGN FOR CHEAPER FOOD

Beet and Anna Small are among the 20,000 Canadian dairy farmers who say that their livelihood will be threatened if Canada agrees to free trade in agriculture. But Ottawa is also facing a growing backlash from consumers angered by the high prices of milk, eggs, chicken and other farm products.



## CANADA

## BRAVE NEW WORLD

While the season's first snowstorm swirled over Quebec City, Premier Robert Bourassa's *Consensus on the Political and Constitutional Future of Quebec* got down to business. Its goal: to find a consensus among Quebecers about the province's future—within Canada or on its own.

— 14





## LETTERS

### A HYPOCRITE—OR A HERO?

Funny how a traffic pattern in Preston Manning's claims that he wants to move in to a "new Canada" while standing for "traditional" values and small-business conservatism ("On the march," *Canoe*, Oct. 28). Manning sounds like he has just discovered the value of the establishment (Herbert Hoover) rather than saying constructive to take on into the next century. Preston still is the notion that a man who has spent almost his entire adult life serving the interests of multinational firms in the same row who, as a "populist," will only represent the interests of Western Canada and Canada's government. But the best part of the story was Manning's admission that his first job was "driving a honey wagon at a hotel—a load." He's still driving it around, trying to dump it, and it's not worth any more now than it was then.

David P. Staglianone,  
North York, Ont.

The Alberta government, operating "at an R level of tax drivers" is arrogant and insulting. On behalf of myself and other Canadians, I apologize to our military personnel in the Gulf and to all Canadians for Preston's insensitive comments.

Stephen J. Walker,  
Calgary

How refreshing to find a man who does not encourage his Chinese beliefs in order to gain an additional political following among Canadians. Preston Manning should be considered a hero simply on the basis of his obvious credibility. If Manning is not willing to water down his beliefs for the national media, we can certainly expect that he will stick to his promises when he arrives in Ottawa to take office.

Basil Farquhar,  
Ottawa, Man.

Since I have, to date, been successful in determining only what the Reform Party stands against, I missed with anticipation your promise to reveal "what the Reform Party stands for." Having read the articles, however, I am not sure he is the savior. Other than the generally right-wing Christian fundamentalist perspective of the party, you did nothing to reveal the real agenda of this group. Those of us in Alberta who remember the regime of forest management as misrepresented and abused by the crown middle class may well doubt that the thought of a minority federal government that, to protect its life, must placate his son Preston and his group of recycled Secords.

Neil R. Thompson,  
Calgary

### QUESTIONABLE QUOTATIONS

You hardly believe that Peter C. Newman recently quoted Jack Pilon ("Chairman Jack's guide to our current politics," *Business Week*, Nov. 3). First, Pilon says that the Middle East crisis is good for the oil business and for Canada, and admits that this is a selfish point of view. But it is more than selfish—it is downright cynical. And Pilon's reference to

### APOLOGY 'NOT NECESSARY'

Canadian art and gallery directors may call Artistic Richard Lukacs's *Artistic Deer* art, but a great number of your readers, I am sure, would call it what it really is: perversion ("Controversial debates," *Canoe*, Nov. 5). Since I consider *Artistic Deer* to be Canada's best general news family magazine, it was certainly not necessary for you to apologize for using good taste in artmaking that which was certainly reprehensible as that painting. You should not have to make excuses to art gallery curators who do not read what kind of rubbish passes for art.

Ans. George Clement,  
Millbrook, Ont.

There is no place in Canada's national newspapers for pornography, profanity or obscenity, even when it is masquerading as art. I was disappointed that *Marlene's* thought it necessary to publish both an apology and a non-apologized version of the offending painting in the Nov. 5 issue.

Peter Ewin,  
Bright, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should submit names, addresses and telephone numbers. Also, please direct all letters to the Editor, *Marlene's* magazine, 4800 River Road, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M6H 1A7.

## PASSAGES

**DIED:** Actress Mary Martin, 76, of cancer, at her home in Palm Springs, Calif. During her 50-year career, she won three Oscars for her portrayal of Peter Pan on Broadway and in three TV specials. Martin was a musical comedy staple on Broadway for more than 30 years, in roles that included *Miller's Fables* in *South Pacific* (1950) and *Mary in The Sound of Music* (1966). She was a three-time Tony winner, but her stage success never translated to screen roles, other actresses always got the parts. Still, when someone called Martin, the mother of *Larry Hagman*, Oakland's R. Irving, what it was like to be the mother of a legend, the answer: "I'm the legend, he's the punting kid."



**DIED:** Montrealer Buddy Buxton, 58, of lung cancer at a Manhattan hospital. A composer, conductor and pianist, Scott wrote the music for *A Taste of Honey* and *My Darling Clementine*. He's *My Darling Scott* also produced records by such artists as Aretha Franklin and Marvin Gaye.

**BINGOING:** Actress, actress and fitness enthusiast Jane Fonda, 53, in television magazine. Neil Turner, 53, Turner's TV network, the Cable News Network (CNN), reported last week that the couple, who have been doing for a year, would get married in the new year. The report also said that Turner will give the actress an unpaid summer job from *Turner's* on her Dec. 21 birthday. Fonda divorced California assemblyman Tom Hayden last year. Turner has been divorced once.

**DIED:** Indian-born British author Lawrence Sanders, 78, at his villa in the southern French village of Saint-Tropez. A contemporary and friend of Henry Miller, Sanders was a resident of The Alexandria Quartet, his four novels set in Egypt and Greece before the Second World War. Sanders, whose brother Gerald is a celebrated author of humorous animal stories, was also known for his travel writing.

**DIED:** Priest, author and sociologist Rev. Gerald Dowd, 78, in hospital in Quebec City. He had developed a hit radio show as a member of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity in Quebec, after he and fellow priest Louis O'Neil published *The Christians and Electives*, a book critical of the Quebec government's links with the Roman Catholic establishment.

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## LETTERS

### SEX IN THE JOB DESCRIPTION

The issue of women reporters in men's locker rooms is about working conditions, not sex ("Let's face it: the locker room"). As *American View*, Oct. 20, The rights of both groups can be easily protected by seeing that there is one room provided for showering and another for interviewing. It should not be a requirement of any man's job that he allow women into his changing room. Nor should it be a requirement of any woman's job that she go to a locker room. *Daniel Calverton, Calgary*

Maybe I am missing something here, but I keep asking myself what on earth this media is doing in these locker rooms in the first place. What, indeed, interviews with Brian Mulroney from the House of Commons washroom? *Ben Bennett, Collingwood, Ont.*

I suppose gender equality is the stated reason for the policy allowing female reporters into male locker rooms. I assume, therefore, that male reporters are allowed equal access to female athletes in their locker rooms. As Fred Bremner suggests, such is the pace of progress in the big town.

*Archie S. Brad, Memphis*

Why is it that humans would rather fight than coexist? The athletes deserve a peaceful shower and the reporters deserve their story. Harold Ballard had the right idea: Give the reporters a media room and allow some of them into the locker rooms, at give the players a time limit to shower and change before the media are allowed in.

*Wendy Horvitz, Toronto*

### MORE THAN BIRTH CONTROL

I feel I must comment on Ian D. Logan's letter on overpopulation ("The cost of living") in the Oct. 22 issue. Overpopulation is indeed a serious problem, but it is perhaps not so simple to solve as some people might suppose. People in Third World countries have more children than we would like because of several factors. One of them is that they need more hands to bring in income than we do. Another is that, with infant mortality rates as high as they are in these countries, it is hard to convince people to stop having more babies. Global problems cannot be dealt with by well-armed but simple minded ideas about expediting our ideas on birth control.

*Jane Sanford, Greenbank, Ont.*



“ Italian national team boycotts World Cup over shirt design. ”

“ Spanish Steps to be replaced by escalators. ”

“ Rome's Coliseum undergoes renovation in preparation for the 1990 World Cup finals. ”

“ Japanese pop star wins Gold Prize at San Remo. ”

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

## LETTERS

### PERCEPTIONS OF THE MEDIA

I have been wanting to write for some time to compliment George Bain on his perceptive columns. What truly motivated me was his hilarious list of what is "bad" (governments, politicians) and "good" (environmentalists, sex, two people, farmers, gays, trans lovers) in the media today ("Media modesty can be beyond belief," *Media Watch*, Oct. 22). In its constant quest for focus, the media tend to point everything in black-and-white, Devil-and-God-like images. True enough, some media are biased, but very often for petriety biased reporting.

Mark Daly  
Montreal

### FREEDOM TO EXPOUND

I was in the Oct. 29 issue that Bertram Amarel wrote about the threat of censored politicians ("The battle of the goats," *Opening Windows*). Fortunately, I could not turn back what was her last line, or whether or not she says her finger from time to time. The important thing is that she has the freedom to express her thoughts, which is, no doubt, why she regularly reads the joys of capitalist democracy.

Andy Auer  
Winnipeg

### A QUESTION OF FUNDING

In response to your article "The mystery of life" (*Science*, Oct. 15), concerning the construction of a \$108-million facility to study subatomic particles at the University of British Columbia, I must realize that our country is on the brink of a recession and is responsible for a huge deficit. We do not have the funds to support a megaproject such as Triumf-6000, especially since comparable facilities already exist.

Sally Ahmed,  
Kamloops, BC

### RECHARGING ELECTRIC CARS

The article on electric automobiles ("The clean car quest," *Technology*, Oct. 10) overlooked one important point—where would the additional power come from for recharging all these batteries? I suggest that the benefits of electric cars can be best realized if the electricity used is self-generated by individual automobiles in a hybrid electric, rather than by utility companies. In that way, both the costs and the environmental impact of operating each vehicle will be made to the user, thus providing autonomy to conserve, which is the ultimate solution.

Garry Mallory,  
Timmins, Ont.



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## OPENING NOTES

George Bush Jr. plays down his role in the Gulf, Richard Nixon explores Quebec City, and Keith Spicer relates

## THERAPY FOR A TIRED NATION

Just as Keith Spleen was giving down to what he refers to as the "democratisation" of the CRT, he agreed to apply his unusual talents to national unity. And if the contents of his first reason to follow members of the newly created Officers' Forum on Canada's Future are a reliable indicator of what to expect, Canada may yet become a kinder, gentler sort of place. The five-page document, which Mulcahey's editorial last week, proposes an agenda that sounds like a cross between a low-in and a cross-country group-therapy session. The 36-year-old Spleen, who served as the country's first official hangman,



*Spicer: uncorroborated approach*

considerable longer. 1972 to 1977 and who has been a teacher, author and journalist, is known for his cosmopolitan and unconventional approach to Islam. The issue's objective, writes Ignatiev, is "to create a field, even across clashes of dialogue." He cautions against "another typical rapid conclusion based on one-sided or 'gender conservative' views," such as "gender conservatism," "secular feminism," and "Islamic feminism," which he believes are "theirs" and "not their 'natural habitats.'" In the move, he also proposes that the 12 members meet soon to get to know each other. And he stresses the importance of trust and a sense of humor as they begin their "adventure." Writes Ignatiev: "At the end of this, we will have gone through a lot together and know our own priority and how to pursue our shared goals and traditions of thought. We're probably going to be stuck with each other as friends."

### *The image of a politician's wife*

Since *Polly Rae*, the wife of A-Lister's new sex partner, Bob Rae, will probably not try to induce a professional change in her glibly admitted professional interest: David Peterson's attorney, Joe Sharkey. But earlier this month, Rae landed with her husband on David Hanson's week-end Shakespearean epic, *The Shaming of the Rose*, at a Stratford Festival benefit at the Royal Alexandra Theatre in Toronto; the critics were kind to tell *Act* Mike Rae will now, like Peterson, be subjected to the relentless examination of the news cameras. As a result, Rae Richardson, beauty and fashion editor of *Plebe* magazine, published by Hunter, which also owns *Maxim's*, *Plebe* will not official in the process to invite Rae to take part in its make-over feature, in which celebrities create a new fashion look. Rae and



*Read a new adventure from the collection.*

that she knew nothing about the proposal and that she would not be interested if she had. But, said Richardson, "It's not an unusual thing. Most politicians have image consultants these days. This is just a natural extension of that."

## PARTNERS IN CRIME

New Scotia RCMP officers led by Audlin General Kenneth Eby's recent claim that, across Canada, the force "operating too much like lobbyists about jurisdictional matters with Canada Customs." Sgt. Gary Grant said that in Nova Scotia at least, the two agencies have always had a very good relationship and a high level of co-operation. Grant attributes the alleged worst feelings to the booming drug-smuggling business in Nova Scotia. "It forces the two agencies to work together," Grant said. The most unlikely clouds have either blown

## TAKING CARE OF BUSINESS

**I**n a sales-rattling speech to the nation on Aug. 3, President George Bush said that he is sending troops to the Persian Gulf because the region's oil supplies are "of vital interest" to the United States. They are also of interest to Enron. Last January the Houston Energy Corp. of Bedford, Tex., signed an agreement with Lukoil, an oil company off South America's east coast, to develop, produce and market oil from its offshore fields. At that time, energy analysts marveled that an oil company

**Booth: vital interest**



company had won the contract. But one explanation may lie in a familiar case on Harken's board of directors: the Pyralis shareholder in the fit company with Harken's consultant and lost supporters that U.S. "I don't feel Arden drilling prospects," would seem to



—



Month Jr.: "A little farther back"

## Counterfeiters forge ahead

In the Soviet economy students in colleges, amateur counterfeitters are scrambling to meet a growing demand for U.S. currency. Police, who say that 90 per cent of the phoney money is made in the West, guess that they have seized the rough equivalent of \$70,000 this year. But clearly it is not enough. *Rebels* profiteers are increasing their take by drawing extra zeros on FI and \$5 bills. As well, the fakers are transforming the one dollar Washington into the one hundred's *Benjamin Franklin* by adding a little more hair and a slender collar. Necessity mothers invention.

## A lucky streak

**L**iberal President George H.W. Bush's re-election promises that President-elect Bill Clinton is not entirely due to good luck. But luck has certainly played a part. Despite his province's chronic unemployment and economic doldrums, Gha is now two landslide electoral victories in the past four years and continues to seek to renege on the post



Give two cats and a bird.

## A PRESIDENTIAL DIAGNOSIS

Even former U.S. president Richard Nixon has opinions about Canada's two identities. When Toronto journalist Elaine Ruder inadvertently encountered the frail but frantically Nixon standing on the front steps of the Château Frontenac hotel in Quebec City last month, she asked him what he thought about Canada's chances for survival. Ruder told Nixon he asked the vice, his first stop here and his wife, Patrice, first saw the city in 1945, was strictly a right-wing teetotaler. But 77-year-old Nixon finally roared: "I can understand their wanting to go. Quebec is so different. It is different from Vancouver, Vancouver is different from Toronto, Canada is like that." But what was Nixon really, *elaine*, there?

## SHOW BUSINESS TO THE SENATE

According to Chaz, Sonny Bono was not a good husband and those who remember the strident nature of his role of their 1965 hit, *J.G. You Babe*, know that he is not an accomplished singer either. The most talented as an actor have never been in great demand. But the former co-star of the Sonny and Chaz show has found a role as the



Some not in great demand

world of politics. In April, 1985, Boaz was elected mayor of Palm Springs, Calif. Since then, he has made considerable headway in the establishment of the Palm Springs International Film Festival. Now, says Frank Collins, a spokesman for Boaz, the former star will likely seek election in a California Republican assembly seat. San Gabriel: "There will be two Senate elections between 1992 and 1994, and maybe Boaz is seriously considering it." If assembly can become precedent, Boaz may have a chance in a Senate race.

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## AN AMERICAN VIEW



# Welcome to the voodoo future

BY ARVED BRUNING

**W**ord part is: Looks like a mountain. Economists say that America hasn't put the sort of fiscal miles down thought impossible when Republicans were blabbing about setting the country straight and Democrats were spooking for the fabled righteousness of poor old Jimmy Carter. What's that a hint? House prove in effect, Stock markets to open. All those fine young canards making a killing in gold, or limited partnerships, or such borch.

Now who can remember what the term "yappi" means? Gone is the atmosphere that comes with overnight wealth and its various attendant glories. No more million-dollar specimens, no more cuttings in the *Huachuap*, no more ski trips to the *Andes*, no more touring cars, no mass range of adventure sports turning to the morning financial tables. Someone slanted the door on Wednesday. Suddenly, Yucca red as long.

If only it were that simple. The economy of the 1980s was nothing more than an elaborate pyramid scheme and the list of victims includes just about everyone—welfare mothers, suburban households, corporate execs, the guru who ran the local diet, the 25-year-old teeny who can't make his MTV payments. Now revealed at last, is the Reagan Revolution. Here we observe the ultimate achievement of what even George Bush once described as "voodoo economics." Now let the future, such as it is.

Left to their own busy devices, Reagan and his monetary witch doctors cut taxes for affluent Americans while reducing every defense

Department history from South member to Sen. Wren. Our leading Gopner, affable but entangled by the scales of elementary mathematics, promised the good times would roll on and on. No doubt, he believed it too; you favor the rich and the rich spend their money, and before long that kid on the street corner gets a job, and the young couple buys a house, and the

*The economy of the 1980s was an elaborate pyramid scheme, and the list of suckers includes just about everyone*

senior citizen finds a decent apartment, and the sick stop worrying about health care and, naturally, each income disappears because everybody's happy. Makes perfect sense—except

Then, in a week, he was gone, packed off to retirement in southern California, leaving as only with his best wishes: stupendous debt and George Bush as President. Though years ago he questioned Ronald Reagan's fiscal discipline, Bush now is disgusted only with the greatest reluctance and the slightest of precautions towards corrective policies. "Read my lips," he intoned during the 1988 election campaign. These days, come America, don't bother.

How quickly things changed! It seems like only yesterday that buyers were bidding the price of homes into the stratosphere. Now the suburbs have upgraded forests of "For Sale" signs while, in cities, blighted residents tell their horror stories. "Looking at the classified ads is like walking into a dark basement," says one New Yorker who has given up trying to sell the West Side row house he bought on board-

during the boom. "Slowly, I check the listings for my neighborhood, and then I get a little braver and look for places like mine and then—*smooch!*—I see an ad for something similar selling at \$30,000 less. (Yes, I was asking I'd own this place into the next century.)"

These are great, great concerns, more concerns than I've seen since I started in 1956," said a suburban real estate developer. "I'd call it a depression in a new ball. People talk about being unable to fill their gas tanks because of post-Katrina price hikes. A referee says that he hasn't enough money for the dentist or routine physicals. In the slumping Northeast, folks talk about missing a car—maybe not West—on the chance things will be better. On Cox West, at home, people wonder if maybe they ought to head east, or south, or somewhere.

While some experts still express hope that the recessionary tide will stay below our borders, the signs are ominous. Bank share prices rose. More than 135 commercial banks failed in the first nine months of business collapse since the last boom: could triple in 1991. The *New York Times* reported that many American companies already are laying off employees in anticipation of deteriorating conditions. Disasters have reached the levels of the 1981-1982 recession, according to the *Times* and while early layoffs are attributed to seasonal slumps, several economists say that the downturn actually could become cyclical.

Warm-up is essential? That recent talk is correct: will not be sufficient to constrain our growth; that the Persian Gulf crisis will come as to any war scenario; that we fail to make a necessary transition from a Cold War to a truly postwar economy; that inflation goes wild; that unemployment rises ahead—that, in other words, we enter a prolonged period of structural dysfunction and despair at precisely the moment we are trying to understand what role we not to play in a profoundly restructured world order.

But let's say that we look out. Let's say the economy wobbles for another year or so and, somehow, somehow, somehow, let's say inflation stays put and joblessness abates and that we come to our senses in the Middle East by allowing the United Nations to take responsibility as up on the beat. Let's say we get another shot at reaching the 21st century without the sort of civil war to make us yearn for the good old days of 1990 when it still was possible to find enough scratch for a Sunday meal at McDonald's.

In that happy event, we really must make a pact with ourselves. We must promise to look very carefully at the next top-chested politician who comes along promising that wealth is the surest cure for poverty. We must pledge not to let greed tempt good sense nor to ignore the early warning signs of sorrow. Overhead buses for some, cardboard crates near heating vents for others—that sort of thing. Once and for all, we must scatter the high prices of economic nostrums so the ruckus won't again kill their last wings and land here on the coasts of the White House.

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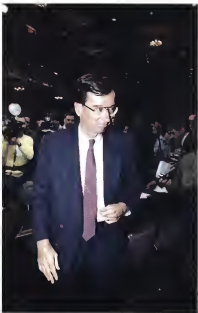
## BRAVE NEW WORLD

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COMMISSION  
ON THE PROVINCE'S  
FUTURE BEGINS  
PUBLIC HEARINGS

The long-awaited search for a new Quebec began solemnly. While the session's first announcements swirled across the province's largest radio capital, the 37 members of the Commission on the Political and Constitutional Future of Quebec gathered last week inside the regional National Assembly building overlooking the city. They seated themselves beneath glass chandeliers in the ornate Red Chamber around a polished wooden table in the shape of a large letter U. For the next seven hours, speaking one after another, they gravely declared their intent: to set in motion a process that will lead to the decision that will follow, Michel Bélanger, one of the commission's two co-chairs, announced. "A new definition of the relation between Quebec and Canada—out of Quebec's place within or at the side of Canada—is the object of this proceeding."

That goal will be pursued with increasing vigor over the course of the next 18 months. By the time the commission submits its findings to the provincial legislature on March 26, it will have spent an estimated \$10 million conducting 22 televised public hearings in 51 separate cities and towns scattered across the province. It will also have studied 500 briefs from widely diverse groups and individuals, convened private sessions from 100 experts and reviewed several professional forums and round tables devoted to single-issue themes ranging from monetary reform to security rights. "Quebec will decide its own future," declared Jean Campeau, the commission's other co-chairman. "Our aim is to find an underlying consensus among Quebecers as the essential elements of that future."

But consensus has already proven difficult to achieve. The commission's first hearing opened on Nov. 6 only after a bitter closed-door debate among the members of its steering



**Sources:** commission members hold deeply divergent opinions on separation

committee over whether or not a Canadian flag should sit alongside that of Quebec as the hearing chamber. The division of that act a wide divergence of views exists among the more than three dozen individuals who sit on the Bélanger-Campeau commission. The membership is composed of Quebecers opposing separatist that stage across the political spectrum from the forthright separatist of former federal Conservative cabinet minister Lucien Bouchard, to the committed federalist of former federal Liberal cabinet minister André Durolet (page 16). But whatever the outcome, the commission's highly polarized deliberations are certain to further inflame the passions stirred by the debate over the failed Meech Lake constitutional accord. At the same time, the commission's final report is likely to have a significant impact on the future shape, not just

of the future of the Meech Lake accord. To that end, the commission has set about its task with meticulous attention to detail. Since André Durolet, experts have been briefing the commission's members on the various forms of political association that could replace Canada's existing structure. Testimonies have provided detailed analyses of alternatives to the use of the Canadian dollar in a potentially seceding Quebec. As well, they have described various forms of customs agreements and addressed the tangled issue of how to separate assets and liabilities in the course of a national divorce.

Long lists of questions have been mailed to a further group of 100 experts. Outstanding private sessions in queries involving the nature of government's jurisdiction and the link between standards of living and different forms of political and economic union.

"We have to make sure that no stone is left unturned," said Quebec Inter-governmental Affairs Minister G. Bouchard, Premier Robert Bourassa's leading adviser during the Meech negotiations and a key government representative on the commission.

The commission has also paid a great deal of attention to its surveying of Quebec public opinion. A seven-member steering committee will study the 500 briefs that have been submitted to date. That committee will decide which of those briefs merit presentation during the 22 public hearings that begin in Quebec City last week and will continue in the next six weeks as the commission begins its grueling tour through 18 other towns and cities across the province. Each of the day-long public sessions will be televised on cable tv, while taped highlights will be aired weekly on the provincially owned Quebec network. Those broadcasts are expected to consume close to half of the commission's \$10 million budget.

When the hearings are completed in May, the commission will study the session's 200,000 pages of transcripts. Depending on their responses, the commission may decide to convene round tables on particularly difficult or outstanding issues before submitting its final report to the March 26 deadline.

Writing that report will likely be the most difficult of all the commission's tasks, because the co-chairmen must achieve a consensus and the expected facing of divergent views. Last week, Campeau defined a consensus as something satisfying to "roughly 75 per



**Campaign:** Quebec will decide its own future

## National Notes

## LIBERAL SPENDING

Reports filed by the candidates in the 1990 Liberal leadership race showed that they spent a combined \$6 million in their campaigns—making it the most expensive leadership competition in Canadian history. Walter Joseph Chabot's campaign over \$2.44 million while runner-up Paul Martin, a Montreal MP, spent \$2.37 million. Edmonton MP Sheila Copps, who was a distant third, spent \$460,000.

## ON A NEGOTIATIONS

Indian Affairs Minister Thomas Siddons appointed a committee of Mohawks and officials from three levels of government to settle a native land claim at Oka, Que., that was at the heart of a 78-day armed standoff between Mohawk Warriors and authorities this past summer.

## A LANDMARK RULING

In a precedent-setting case, an Ontario Court of Justice gave in Ottawa-based two Canadian record companies and publishing companies and distributing obscene material. The charges concerned lyrics depicting violence, sodomy and bestiality on two albums by the Victoria rock group Dopehead. It was the first time that a record company had been prosecuted on obscenity charges in Canada.

## A BLOCKADE ENDS

RCMP officers used a front-end loader to clear a four-mile-wide, seven-blockade of a logging and tourism road near Barkham, N.C., 140 km south of Vancouver. They charged 60 Mounties in Indian headgear and non-convicted supporters with contempt of court. The blockade, which started in Oka, Que., developed into a protest over native sovereignty.

## A LANDSLIDE VICTORY

Although the turnout was only 38.2 per cent, incumbent Jean Chrétien won a victory in Montreal's mayoralty race, taking nearly 60 per cent of the popular vote. His party, the Montreal Citizens' Movement, won 43 of 56 city council seats.

## CLOSED COURTS

Ottawa Attorney General Howard Hampton predicted that about 50,000 criminal charges will be dismissed by Ontario judges, or withdrawn by prosecutors, because of a huge backlog of cases. Since Dec. 15, when the Supreme Court of Canada ordered a reduction in charges against four Ontario men by making that their right to a prompt trial had been violated, more than 1,600 charges have been stayed or dismissed.

out" of the commissioner's membership reaching agreement on fundamental principles. But according to Robert Lepage, leader of the small English-rights Equality party, who will sit on the commission but has no voting privilege, "It may be an impossible goal."

As a result of intense pickering between the Liberal premier and Jacques Parson, leader of the separatist Parti Québécois, the body is roughly split between separatists and those who, like Lepage, clearly lean towards a renewed but much looser form of Canadian federation. Among the voting members of the commission who are in Quebec is a caucus of more Liberal-leaning, less representative from the business community, one federal Conservative, one federal Liberal MP and Richard Robitaille, Equality Party MP for Westmount—a total of 37 persons. Moreover, one of seven PQ MPs on the commission, whose individualist position is supported by four representatives of labor unions, Bloc Québécois leader Lucien Bouchard and Serge Tanguay, who represents Quebec's artists—a total of 33.

The other seven commissioners could note either way. Among the potential swing group: Claude Bilodeau, president of the Mouvement Desjardins credit union federation, Guy D'Astous, the president of the Quebec Federation of School Communes, Jean Louis Desautels, president of the Quebec Union of Metropolitan

and Roger Rivest, mayor of the Eastern Townships hamlet of Amqui and president of the Quebec Union of Regional Municipal Councils. "It is pretty fairly balanced," said Marcel Beaudry, a Bell real estate developer and Liberal party organizer in western Quebec. "It's impossible to predict the outcome of the stage."

The negotiations will depend largely on the public sentiment that the commission uncovers in the coming weeks. "We will be looking for the answers to those questions," Rivest remarked last week. "Where are we? What values does our society want to sustain? What jurisdiction must our government control in order to achieve those values?"

In the end, the commissioner's findings will not be binding on the Quebec government. And ultimately, Quebec's future direction will be decided by the province's voters—most probably in an election that many observers expect Bouchard to call for sometime during 1993.

That election will clearly be fought along the same partisan lines that now divide the commission. For the moment, though, the individual members are striving to maintain political peace within the commissioner's ranks. Their success will depend largely on the personal chemistry that the individual commissioners develop as they travel the province together, living and working in close proximity with each other. Already, there are signs of a budding harmony between

personalities who are polar apart in political viewpoint. Last week, almost everyone agreed with the commission task group to stress that the task ahead required an open mind and no partisan spin. Optimizing the mood in the Bell Chamber, Bouchard declared, "If we can work together to arrive at a consensus, then this will lend considerable weight to our demands for a new political order." Few of the members of the Bilodeau-Comptons commission, no matter how drastically different their views, appeared to disagree on that approach.

**BARRY CANINE** in Quebec City

## COMMISSIONERS OF DESTINY

Most of the 37 members of Quebec's Commission on the Constitution are politicians, including 13 members of the Quebec cabinet. Most follow their own and have elected ministerial offices. In addition, there are six prominent members of the business community and four trade unionists, an educator, an artist and a credit union official. Among the key members:

**Michel Bédard**, 61, a retired bank president and deputy minister in the provincial government. He was Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's personal choice to oversee the commission.

**Jean Charbonneau**, 59, former chairman of the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec—the powerful Crown corporation in charge of investing the province's pension

and auto insurance fund. Now chairman of Montreal-based Desjardins Inc., he won his appointment as co-chairman to Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parson.

**Clairmont Ryan**, 55, Quebec minister of public security. Leader of the provincial Liberal from 1976 until 1982, he led the provincial New campaign during Quebec's 1980 referendum on sovereignty association and remains a committed federalist, but one who believes in increased powers for Quebec.

**Cassio Macdonald**, 48, Liberal MP representing Montreal's ethnic east end. An Italian immigrant who said he leans towards federalism, Macdonald is the only commissioner who is an "aboyeur"—as Quebecers call residents whose ethnic roots are neither French nor English.

**Louise Harel**, 44, Parti Québécois MP from Montreal. A lawyer and former PQ cabinet minister, she is widely viewed as among the most ardent independence advocates in the PQ caucus.

**Richard Bolduc**, 58, MP for the English-rights Equality Party. Representative of the official, ex-clubhouse member of Westmount, he is a staunch federalist. Bolduc broke with his own party to support the March 1982 accord.

**Claude Bilodeau**, 53, president of the financially powerful Mouvement Desjardins credit union federation. A Montrealese, he was originally a candidate for the chairmanship of the commission, but Bouchard blocked his appointment because of his nationalist leanings.

**Lucien Bouchard**, 51, president of the 475,000-member Quebec Federation of Labor. Bouchard is at issue that the two has come for Quebec's sovereignty.

**Serge Tanguay**, 44, president of the Quebec Union des artistes. Bouchard appeared him to the commission reluctantly, in view of the artists' union's friendly independence position. □

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CANADA

## A calculated risk

*Enduring abuse, Mulroney plays for time*

In Toronto, students threw red maracas at him in Edmonton, posters named "Boris Mulroney" in coming to Alberta. Stephen? And across the country, polls continued to show that Mulroney remained the most unpopular prime minister in the 26-year history of Canadian polling. The son, heir, of a dynasty in strategy for the Prime Minister's Office, Mulroney is grasping that mood firsthand. In recent days across the nation from St. John's, N.B., to Vancouver, the Tory leader has faced protesters in the streets and critics' columns on his/her shows. Disparaged Edmonton Tory air James Edwards: "Mulroney has become the lightning rod for all the unpopular stuff going on in the country, from firing to Oka and the GST." But satisfied with unpopular policies and faced with growing conservative dissent, increasingly desperate Tories and Mulroney had little choice but to face his critics head on. And see friend. "I reject a day-by-day approach to trying to keep the country together."

Whether Mulroney can ease the strains on the country's fabric—and improve his own political standing along the way—remains unclear. For one thing, the Tories have only a sketchy long-term strategy for political recovery. They are hindered by a deadlock institutional opposition and disoriented by the daily fight in the Senate over the proposed Goods and Services Tax. The deficit-ridden government is also unable to appoint critics with new spending programs. In fact, Ottawa was rife last week with rumors that the government was on the brink of announcing some-the-board cuts in the public service.

But Mulroney's real drive is partly designed to address the growing popular mood in the country, which manifests itself in vocal criticism of his government and nationwide political. The recently announced Great Forum on Canada's Future, which will hold public hearings across Canada, was one clear indication that the government is heading outwards. The government's deal-making process that led to the new aerialized Meek Lake accord. As well, Mulroney has departed from his customary style of often peddling speaking tour in favor of a more intimate and self-deprecating tone. At a head-on meeting with Toronto's Tories last week, the Prime Minister said, "No one foolishly goes out to look for a program to make himself unpopular although if you want me I got one."

So far Mulroney's begrudging accountability has met with mixed success. On radio and television he has been in front of carefully selected crowds. Mulroney delivered his government's policies in a relaxed and confident style. Most appearances also attracted Mulroney to arrange. But the private was not as angry as some Tories had initially feared. At Toronto's York University, cheering students threw paper balls. When Mulroney arrived to deliver a speech at a Toronto hotel last week, some

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At Toronto's York University, protesters have shouted, thrown food and spit at

protesters spat at his knee. But the crowd of roughly 100 quickly dispersed as soon as the television cameras left.

Some analysts say that Mulroney could benefit from encountering his critics outside Ottawa. Said Michael Adams of the Toronto-based Economics Research Group: "By going out there, Mulroney allows people to let off steam. He will not benefit at the polls tomorrow but he may be earning grudging, subconscious approval from voters for having put his dues by facing their beef on."

But simply taking the blame is not likely to reverse Mulroney's falling fortunes on his own. For one thing, while the Prime Minister can be an amusing performer when he is less beleaguered in his statements, he is also prone to making mistakes. Speaking to Quebec Tories in Mont St-Armand on Nov. 3, Mulroney boasted that constitutional adventures ought

carry a "big economic price." But in doing so, he invoked the specter of Quebecers losing their province, which reviled the economic threats made by Ottawa during the campaign for the 1992 Referendum. The Quebec media harshly condemned Mulroney for using the sensitive phrase. But as constitutional battles heat up in the coming months, Mulroney is unlikely to be able to avoid touching on delicate topics. "This is not going to be a polite debate," said one government adviser.

And despite the appointment of the Citizens' Forum, much of that debate is still likely to be conducted in the shadows of Ottawa. According to his advisers, Mulroney will rely on a second, more traditional constitutional convention for advice on how to handle the board's recommendations. Among the key tasks that will face the still-uneasy constitutionalists: finding a way to escape the political straitjacket of the con-

stitutional formula, which requires unanimous consent by Ottawa and the provinces for constitutional reform.

But if this approach effectively leaves the forum's recommendations subject to a panel of experts, it may merely reinforce public alienation—and frustrate Mulroney's attempts at a political turnaround. Said Bruce MacDonell, a Toronto advertising executive who helped choreograph the Ontario New Democratic Party's campaign election last September: "The public is looking for politicians who are less packaged. But whether it is political or not, the perception is that everything Mulroney says has a hidden agenda. And that credibility gap is hard to overcome." The answers, the success of any new approach may ultimately rest with whether Canadians are still willing to listen.

BRUCE HALLACE in Ottawa

# An urgent mission

Canadians seek the release of Iraq hostages

The letters arrived in Calgary in the hands of weary travellers from the Middle East and were delivered to an anxious wife. Reading them, Jennifer Skowberg, 43, could sense, plainly and painfully, the deteriorating condition of her husband. Fred, 53, a computer engineer who has been held in Kuwait since Iraq invaded that country on Aug. 2, in those letters—the most recent arrived in mid-October—Skowberg's husband told her

that the Canadian hostages in Kuwait feel neglected and ignored by their government. At the same time, living conditions in the occupied country are rapidly worsening. The men who are barely aware that they are in the grip of a potential war zone, complain that they are confined to quarters and watched constantly by Iraqi soldiers. "Food is hardly nutritious," said Skowberg, who left Kuwait in early September at her husband's insistence. "They are suffering mentally and physically." Now, three men are preparing to go to Baghdad to seek the release of all Canadian hostages.

For her part, Skowberg brushed aside the assurances of the department of external affairs that it is doing everything possible to secure her husband's release. Instead, after talking to the worried relatives of other Canadian held hostages in Kuwait and Iraq, she offered to raise money to pay the way for a group of prominent Canadians to travel privately to Baghdad to plead their case. The appeal reflected the success of similar missions on behalf of other nationals held by Iraq by well-known political figures from Germany, Japan, Britain and the United States. But one early candidate for a comparable high-profile Canadian mission, former justice minister Pierre Trudeau, turned aside the appeal—citing a prior commitment to visit Vietnam.

Still, the three men did pick up the challenge. B.C. New Democrat Irvend Robinson, Manitoba Liberal Lloyd Axworthy and New Brunswick Conservative Robert Corbett said that they intended to pay an unofficial visit to Baghdad to try to persuade Iraq President Saddam Hussein to release 37 non-Indigenous Canadian workers held by his government. And although by the end of the week Corbett was the only one of the three who had been granted an entry visa by Iraqi authorities, Robinson said that he remained optimistic. Said Robinson: "Even if only one or two of the Canadians trapped in Iraq are able to come home as a result of this mission, it will have been worthwhile." For her part, Skowberg said that the group of families with relatives in Iraq or Kuwait, assisted by the employers of some hostages as well as by private donations, was already assembling pledges for the estimated \$32,000 needed for the trip.

In the past, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has undertaken rescue missions. He and his late last month that any official mission would only help Iraq dictate Saddam Hussein to create the impression of division within the military alliance that now opposes him in the Gulf. External Affairs Minister Joe Clark instructed his officials to assist the three men with travel arrangements and lodgings on the situation in the Middle East. But he also said that an official mission would run the risk of undermining the solidarity of the international opposition to Hussein. And he repeatedly stressed that the proposed delegation would not represent the Canadian government.

Of the three men, Corbett is the most knowledgeable about the Middle East. The New Brunswick businessman, along with six other men, drew criticism in 1984 for accepting as

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evolution for a private tour of the Middle East from Kuwait, Jordan, Damascus to the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Garbett has also visited Baghdad at least twice and appears to be well-versed there. Fellow MP John Lapierre, for one, recalled that when he travelled to the Iraqi capital with Garbett in 1984, "there were signs" wherever the New Brunswick MP went in the city.

The Canadian mission would follow a well-trodden path to Hassan's door. Last week, 24 Japanese hostages flew home after former Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita visited Baghdad to plead for their freedom. Similar interventions by such figures as former Irish prime minister Edward Heale, former West German chancellier Willy Brandt and former U.S. Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson have resulted in the return of hundreds of other hostages. Not all of those missions have found officials from the governments of the countries involved. The British government, for example, tried unsuccessfully to discourage a visit by 12 women but were seeking the release of their husbands and sons.

Meanwhile, as of last week, there were 21 Canadians in Kuwait, eight of whom have dual citizenship or other travel papers, which allow them to leave. There were another 10 Canadians in Baghdad. Thirty-three of them have dual passports but do not wish to leave because they do not want to surrender property or give up a way of life. In addition, there are nine diplomatic warships who fled Kuwait and are now stranded in the Canadian Embassy in Baghdad. The Iraqis have refused to grant them exit visas or diplomatic papers, which would let them work in Baghdad. Said Robinson of the hostages: "They're under tremendous emotional stress."

That view is echoed by many of the hostages' families who have been in the Middle East. Linda Chase, whose brother was trapped in Kuwait when his plane landed there to refuel, responded indignantly to the public debate over the wisdom of mounting a rescue mission. Noting that reports out of Kuwait last week indicated that Canadian hostages had lost their food supplies and are living under increasingly difficult conditions, Chase added: "I don't care who gets out, as long as they just try to get the people out before something happens."

While the three parliamentarians expected eventually to be released in Iraq, their safety there is far from assured. Tremors rose again in the Gulf last week as U.S. President George Bush announced the deployment of more than 150,000 additional troops to the region, bringing the total U.S. force strength to almost 400,000. But for MPs and their families, the mounting danger made their mission even more necessary. Declined Garbett: "It is never a good time to head for Iraq these days. But if it is a worse time today than it was yesterday, that just underscores the urgency." For worried families awaiting the return of loved ones from the Middle East, that urgency becomes more painfully clear with each passing day.

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CANADA

## Hell on the streets

Winnipeg tries to cope with runaways

On the street, he knows simply as the Provider because of his ability to come up with money for food and other basic needs. "There's always somebody in the group that can provide, whether by doing drugs, turning a truck or doing B and E's [breaking and entering]," the 19-year-old told Maclean's as he shot pool at an inner-city drop-in centre in Winnipeg. "I was good at the B and E's." Since first leaving home at age 10 after a fight with his father, he has spent most of his time on the streets, often finding shelter for the night in two-story windowless, abandoned

of lower care and onto the streets. In fact, there is growing evidence that Winnipeg has slowly become the runaway capital of Canada, drawing youths from all over Manitoba, southern Saskatchewan and northeastern Ontario. According to a report released in May by the city's Social Planning Council, there were 7,352 children under 18 reported missing and believed to be living on Winnipeg streets in 1984—a 53 per cent increase from 1984. The majority of them were between 11 and 16, and slightly more than half were Indian or Métis. Most of the police surveyed

the attacks. "The men provided for the girls at the basic levels: shelter, food, clothing and companionship," said the report. "The victims regarded the sexual exploitation as a small price to pay for the attention they received."

Winnipeg has also been marked by recent court cases involving the sexual abuse of street kids. In one of the most sensational, Carl Edward Krantz, 32, was sentenced on Oct. 15 to 30 years in prison after pleading guilty to 34 counts of sexual assault. Police arrested Krantz in mid-June after running his apartment and seizing 150 videotapes that depicted more than 700 hours of sexual acts between Krantz and dozens of girls, some as young as 11. According to Sgt. Nolan Perkins, co-ordinator of the police child abuse unit, Krantz lured the girls, almost all of them Indian or Métis, to his apartment with promises of food, shelter, alcohol and drugs. When they became unconscious, he raped and sodomized them while a video camera recorded the activity.

This case has hardened the resolve of some social workers to fight recent spending cuts by Premier Gary Filmon's Conservative government. The battle begins in June, when the department of family services set quotas on children's eligibility for more expensive levels of foster care to limit special needs, including medical and emotional problems and handicaps. Under the new quotas, only 45 per cent of foster-care children are eligible for higher rates—even though some in-service agencies say that more than half of the children in their care have special needs. The result, say some social workers, is that more children with special needs will be forced into institutions or homes that cannot cope with them—and they will run away again. "We are closing the door in terms of services to some of these kids," Tim Maloney, executive director of Northwest Child and Family Services, said last week. Agnes LeBlond, family services director at Reginald Astor, "is really in despair."

Manitoba Family Services Minister Harold Gellenshaw said Maclean's that his department is seeking to improve coordination among the agencies that deal with street kids. But Gellenshaw added that the government will not accrete funding to social workers. Declared Gellenshaw: "Agencies have been asked to believe their budgets and to use their resources wisely." Even some social workers concede that police can't support the minister's legitimacy. Said Bruce Horvath, executive director of Northwest Winnipeg Family and Children's Extended Social Services: "People are worried about their lines. They are concerned about a hundred things other than this." If that is the case, many more runaways may soon be seen on the streets of street-smart runaways like the Provider.

BRIAN BRIDGMAN and  
ANDREW KOSKIMANN in Winnipeg



Street kids in Winnipeg: surviving through crime—and suffering sexual abuse

buildings and old sheds. Like other street kids, he sometimes finds solace in drugs or sniffing smelly-smelling addicts. Street life, he said, is another kind of addiction. "It becomes a habit that you want to break, but you can't quit. It keeps calling you back."

There are street-hardened young people like the Provider in every major city in Canada. But Manitoba has the extreme distinction of playing host to the highest per capita number of teenage runaways and missing children in the country, most of them in Winnipeg. Several recent studies by police and social agencies have suggested that the situation has reached a crisis point. Underlining these concerns are several highly publicized court cases involving the sexual abuse of teenage teens. And last week, several Winnipeg social workers stepped up their attack on a recent round of provincial funding cuts that they say will ultimately force even more troubled children out

admitted to some criminal activity, including prostitution and robbery.

Many teenage runaways end up as tragic figures. An internal Winnipeg police report, made public in September and that one local newspaper for a local ethnic cult took in runaways and put them to work as prostitutes. Then, in last October, the Youth Victims Project, a joint investigation by Winnipeg social agencies and the police, was alerted to abuse of street kids by Asian men, issued another damning report. Project members identified 183 girls, some as young as 10, who had been sexually assaulted or abused by up to 165 men—most of them of Southeast Asian origin. Usually, the men picked up the girls at downtown hotels and took them home, where they gave them drugs and alcohol and, in many cases, raped them after the girls were too unconscious to resist. Still, many girls clearly were willing with the men—and declined to report.



U.S. cavalry troops on the march in the Saudi desert; both sides are moving closer to the point of conflict

## WORLD

# RAISING THE STAKES

We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do! We've got the ships, we've got the guns, we've got the money, too

There was no jingoism in the low-key manner which George Bush used to make his major announcement last week, but the words of the Victorian-era British music hall song seemed appropriate. The President said that he is sending large-scale reinforcements to join the 250,000 U.S. military personnel already in the Persian Gulf. And so in Queen Victoria's rule, the world's mightiest power was warning its meddling foreign kinsmen that the time for the use of overwhelming military force was fast approaching.

Bush and Defense Secretary Richard Cheney withheld the precise number of additional troops that are leaving for the Gulf. But at least 250,000 more land, air and air personnel were involved, many of them drawn from NATO forces in Europe. Their presence will bring the

## TENSIONS RISE AS WASHINGTON ANNOUNCES PLANS TO SEND LARGE REINFORCEMENTS TO THE GULF

total of U.S. forces facing Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's occupying army in Kuwait to nearly 500,000. Washington will also send 1,300 tanks to reinforce the 800 already deployed. The army will get three more aircraft carriers and battle groups, along with the naval battleship *Missouri*, doubling the naval strength currently in the Gulf. As well, an

unconfirmed number of attack planes will join the 500 already on the spot. Bush declared that the reinforcements will give the multinational force "an adequate offensive military option" if Hussein continues to defy United Nations resolutions demanding his immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait.

Hussein seemed to be preparing for war. Western intelligence sources said that he issued scaled battle orders to the commander of his estimated 420,000 troops in Kuwait. The writer credits the sources' word, were supplied in case surprise U.S. air strikes knock out conventional military communications. As well, Hussein dismissed his army chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Nazir al-Khazari, and replaced him with Lt. Gen. Hassan Rashid, formerly commander of the crack Republican Guard intelligence division and that Khazari had openly opposed the Aug. 2 invasion. By contrast, they said, Rashid, a hard-line and hero of the 1980-1985 Iran-Iraq war, will firmly support Hussein's actions.

While both sides moved closer to war, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker embarked on a whirlwind international campaign to strengthen the consensus of the multinational force in the Gulf. He met Arab states including Saudi Arabia's King Fahd and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, then flew to Ankara to meet President Turgut Ozal of Turkey. The Turks have no forces at the Gulf, but they have strongly reinforced their troops along the southern border with Iraq.

Later, Baker met Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London. His final stop was Paris, where he met President François Mitterrand. Like Britain, France has deployed significant ground forces in the Gulf, but analysts say that it is still not clear whether the traditionally independent-minded French would allow their troops to take part in a U.S.-led offensive.

In Saudi Arabia, Baker obtained King Fahd's agreement to new command arrangements. U.S. forces will remain under joint U.S.-Saudi command as long as they are helping defend Saudi

"acceptable" or "understandable." Underlining the shift, Shevardnadze declared, "I would advise against looking for some differences in the position between the Soviet Union and the United States." Most cautious and late to join the Soviets are angling that if the Bush administration asks the UN Security Council to authorize military action, they will refuse approval or refrain from using their veto.

Sources said that the Chinese had given Washington a similar undertaking. In Cairo, Baker met with Egypt's visiting foreign minister, Qam Ghisla, who reportedly said that his government would not veto a Security Council resolution. But on Saturday after Qam had visited Baghdad, Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz said that he had given assurances that Egypt would be required to withdraw. Bush administration officials say that they have not decided when to seek UN authorization, or at what terms. According to administration sources, however, Washington is likely to request UN Security Council action at a time of its choice.

After Baker completed his mission and the new 6-month election was over, Bush announced the Gulf reinforcement. Most important, he said, he had authorized the action after three weeks of analysis. Analysts estimated that the additional forces will almost double U.S. military strength on land in the area and that the most significant improvements will be in the area of American armored capability, which is an essential ingredient in desert fighting. According to the State Department and Pentagon, we already have 1,300 more Abrams M1 tanks, "we will, in effect, have modern, first-line tanks in the area that Iraq has."

Most military analysts now predict that U.S.-led forces will delay an offensive until January, when all the reinforcements will be in place. They expect the March to launch a military attack. That goal stretches over the relatively cool winter months and ends with Ramadan, the holy month when about two million Muslims traditionally stream into Saudi Arabia on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Washington may simply be trying to buy time—calculating that there is no danger of an imminent attack—before it launches a lightning strike. But a second more likely that Bush will indeed wait and use his superior air overwhelming military force before going on the offensive. Regardless of the reason, for Washington there is clearly no turning back.

They would thus presumably have until March to mount a military attack. That goal stretches over the relatively cool winter months and ends with Ramadan, the holy month when about two million Muslims traditionally stream into Saudi Arabia on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Washington may simply be trying to buy time—calculating that there is no danger of an imminent attack—before it launches a lightning strike. But a second more likely that Bush will indeed wait and use his superior air overwhelming military force before going on the offensive. Regardless of the reason, for Washington there is clearly no turning back.

### Baker with American soldiers: trying up loose ends

Arabian against the danger of an Iraq attack. But U.S. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf will assume sole command if they attack the Iraqis.

In Cairo, Mubarak reaffirmed his support for the American commitment to defend Kuwait against Iraqi aggression. But he urged Washington to delay any offensive for two or three months to give diplomatic and economic pressures a chance to focus Hussein to withdraw. Military sources pointed out that it will take time to complete the U.S. reinforcement operation.

Baker rejected his nationalist diplomatic approach in Moscow. There, he persuaded Shevardnadze to declare publicly that the allied contingent could not rule out the use of force. That appeared to be a significant change from previous Soviet statements that the use of force was

## World Notes

### ISRAEL RAIDS LEBANON

The Israeli army struck the bases of the radical Muslim Hezbollah movement east of Jerusalem, deep in southern Lebanon. Defense Minister Moshe Arens said that his country will not let Lebanon's Syrian-backed government regain control of Jerusalem, raising concerns that Israel could again become entangled in Lebanon for years after it ended a costly—its lives and money—occupation there.

### NEGOTIATING A NEW LEASE

On the eve of a new round of talks on the future of American military bases in the Philippines, U.S. Senator Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) said that the United States will renounce its fighter aircraft from the Southeast Asian island nation next year. The 1967 Philippine Constabulary calls for a complete withdrawal of all 17,000 U.S. servicemen at its military installation by September, 1991, unless a new treaty is negotiated to clear the runway.

### ANTI-DUKE CLEAR REASONS

After just 18 months as the United States' first director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, William Bennett resigned, saying that he wants to write books and work for the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative Washington think-tank. Bennett, 47, provided over 400,000 in the federal anti-drug budget, to \$12 billion in 1991 from \$7.3 billion in 1989.

### AN ACCORD TO CUT SMOKING

A 10-day Geneva conference on global warming, Japan and 18 Western European nations announced plans to ban or cut carbon dioxide emissions by the year 2000. The United States, which is responsible for about 22 per cent of the world's carbon dioxide emissions, was the most prominent unilateral nation to make specific plans. Scientists say that carbon dioxide contributes to as much as 60 per cent of the so-called greenhouse effect, in which certain gases trap the Earth's heat, causing sea levels to rise and crop production to fall.

### A VICTORY FOR BIKER

James Earl Ray, 47, of Finksburg, Md., was a resounding victory as a man-of-information on his last day of appeal. Marjorie Ann Schallinger, the candidate of the Biker's ruling National Party, was the unanimous winner in the effort to overturn Ray's conviction. He had voted against only 1,300 for the candidate of the right-wing, pro-conservative Party, which opposed the reforms.

JOHN HERMAN and correspondents' report



Supporters carry Kahane's coffin in New York. Kahane (bottom) swears racist

## ISRAEL

## Murder of a rabbi

*Meir Kahane's right-wing extremism lives on*

Jewish subjects, wearing yellow T-shirts emblazoned with a black dot, chanted "Death to the Arabs." More than 2,500 people maintained a measure of order, but a tense atmosphere prevailed in Jerusalem at last week's funeral of Meir Kahane, the extremist Jewish-American politician who had assumed the title of "the fighting rabbi." However, the far-right political movement named Kahane (in Hebrew now meaning "truth"), which Kahane founded and led so independently since 1971, seemed unlikely to evolve him for long. Many likely to continue were the overtly racist themes that the 58-year-old rabbi injected into Israeli politics. "Kahane has done it all," said Gerald Croiser, a lecturer in criminology at Tel Aviv's Bar Ilan University and an expert on right-wing extremist groups. "It has put certain issues which were previously tabooed on the Israeli political agenda."

One of those issues bears the monomaniacal name of "transfer," which a fact calls for the expulsion of the 2.5 million Arabs now living in Israel and the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Many analysts speculated that much of it was Arab outrage over the possibility of mass expulsions that led to Kahane's murder. But there was no official confirmation of that. Meanwhile, Kahane's suspected killer, Eyyor-

narhara El Shai, 39, of New Jersey, who in serious condition is a New York City hospital, A.U.S. Postal Service police officer shot him as he fled from the assassination scene in a Madison Manhattan hotel where Kahane was addressing a Zionist meeting.

Kahane's overtly racist and antisemitic policies led to legislation banning Kahane from Israeli parliamentary politics in 1984 and dropping Kahane the right to campaign for the Knesset seat that he had held since 1984. Despite the parliamentary ban and declining support for Kahane, 52 per cent of Israelis polled last year said that they would support a policy of "transfer" in the absence of an overall Middle East peace settlement. And, in a further sign of widespread support for Kahane's ideas, an estimated 30,000 people took part in the slain rabbi's 39-hour funeral procession through Jewish West Jerusalem two days after his death.

Some of the mourners uttered death threats not only against Arabs but against the

domestic and foreign media, which they claim were hostile to Kahane. Reporters, photographers and television camera crews had spent Israeli police protection as they covered the funeral. And as the rabbi's procession passed the headquarters of the state-owned TV service, mourners stoned the building. Police arrested some 100 activists and charged them with incitement to violence.

All but a handful of Arabs stayed away from the western side of the city. But near the cemetery where Kahane was buried, mourners found a lone Palestinian and pulled him with rocks, seriously injuring him. Another group of militants stoned an Arab attendant at a gas station near West Jerusalem's main fruit and vegetable market. Elsewhere, militants stoned cars bearing West Bank house plates.

The day before the funeral, in reports spread of Kahane's murder, a gunman shot and killed two elderly Palestinians on the outskirts of the West Bank village of Netiva. Police later arrested three Jewish settlers. One of them, an immigrant to Israel from the Soviet Union, was David Barish, a graduate of Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky. And at week's end, in an effort to prevent clashes between Arabs and Jews, police closed Jerusalem to Palestinians from the occupied territories, who staged a general strike marking 36 months since the outbreak of their uprising against Israeli rule.

After the funeral, experts on Israeli extremist movements said that Kahane could not survive for long without Kahane. "Kahane was a one-man show," said Robert Friedman, New York-based author of *The Holy Terror*, a 1990 biography of the Brooklyn-born rabbi. "There is no her-apprentice."

Still, analysts said that other parties of the Israeli far right will continue to spread Kahane's ideas. Most outspoken among their proponents is retired army Gen. Yehoshua (Be'er) whose Meir (Movement) party holds two seats in the 120-seat Knesset. Meir's party was the main force in the 1985 election on a platform calling for the expulsion of the West Bank and Gaza Strip's 3.7 million Palestinian inhabitants to Jordan and other Arab countries. Other far-right parties, including Agudat Israel, Minister Rabbi Ben-Zion Tabachnick and Shimon Moush, Yehoshua's (Renewal) share many of Kahane's hard line attitudes. As the Middle East conflict becomes increasingly tense, it may well provide fertile ground for Kahane's philosophy of revenge.

JOHN BRIDMAN with  
MAY 1991 FOR A JOURNAL



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## THE SOVIET UNION

# Marching in circles

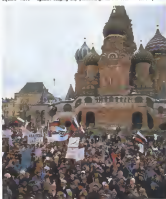
The Soviets celebrate a hollow anniversary

The faces in the dressed masks reflected the ethnic diversity of the Soviet Union. Under a plan drawn up by military organizers, the 8,643 soldiers, sailors and airmen who took part in the Nov. 7 parade through Moscow's Red Square were drawn from Lithuania, Georgia, Russia—from all of the nation's 15 republics. But the shoulder-to-shoulder solidarity was merely superficial. On the 33rd anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Soviet Union is in turmoil as independence-seeking politicians—from the Baltic states to the republics of Georgia and Armenia—urged to break with Moscow. In Red Square last week, a man fired two shotgun blasts from a spot only about 80 yds from where Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev stood on the reviewing stand, shot the Lenin Mausoleum. Plain clothes policemen swiftly arrested Alexander Shomonov, a 38-year-old, unemployed factory worker from Leningrad, and officials later charged Shomonov with attempted terrorism, but said that the shots had, discharged harmlessly into the air and the ground. Still, on the Soviet Union's most important holiday, the gunfire in Red Square emphasized the country's growing disorder.

So did an anti-Communist demonstration in front of party headquarters a few blocks away. Among the more than 5,000 protesters, Alexander Sharon, a 38-year-old air engineer, posted to one placard that read, "Twenty-three years on the road to nowhere." "Derzhavsk" ("That says everything. And we will need another 70 years to get out of the maze we are in now," Gorbachev, in a speech here, Lenin's tomb acknowledged that ethnic unrest, shortages of consumer goods and breakdowns in law and order had all worsened in recent years. But he added, "One should not panic, all this will either be resolved in the old ways. Perestroika is an active and profound political process which is taking place in a complicated and dramatic manner."

Certainly the official viewing party support-

edist statement in addition to Gorbachev and Prime Minister Nikolai Ryklov, Moscow Mayor Gennadiy Yegorov and Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin was conspicuously present. But Yegorov, for one, had argued against staging any parades, given the con-



Anti-Communist demonstration in Moscow: 'on the road to nowhere'

try's severe economic and political troubles. Similarly, Yeltsin acknowledged that his presence was intended as a conciliatory gesture, adding that he and Gorbachev planned to meet soon in an attempt to resolve their deep differences over the transition to a market economy. These gestures dampened persistent rumors that growing social chaos would prompt the military to launch a coup.

At the same time, however, 13 prominent economists openly expressed doubts about Gorbachev's ability to revive the Soviet Union by a switch to a market economy, claiming that the president's current transition plan was fatally flawed. In a letter, which the liberal

Moscow daily newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* published last week, the economists predicted that Gorbachev's attempt to limit privatization, while raising initial prices by exorbitant degrees during a two-year transition period, would spark hyperinflation and lower the already miserable living standards that Soviet citizens endure. Declaring the economic "The inflationary spiral is winding up too quickly, the collapse of the consumer market is grueling and the economy is moving further from a state of equilibrium."

Those charges have received widespread circulation because two of the letter's signers have worked closely with Gorbachev. They are Nikolai Petrakov, who has served as the president's personal economics adviser, and Stanislav Shushkin, the author of a more radical plan to stretch the Soviet Union to a market economy within a mere 200 days. Gorbachev initially endorsed that approach, but later backed away from such drastic economic reforms in the massive sale of state enterprises to private enterprises and the liquidation of individually owned firms.

Gorbachev has linked his reforms to a rewriting of the treaty, one which renounces the republics' voluntarily joining a market-oriented system within a single country. But Karpuzov, in *Central Asia*, is the only republic that has not sought either outright independence or sovereignty—the privacy of capitalism laws over national legislation. Last week, Gorbachev declared the collapse of a new treaty that would allow the republics such benchmarks of independence as their own armies to maintain external order.

While soldiers from all parts of the Soviet Union marched through Red Square, the marking of Revolution Day in many of their home republics ranged from muted indifference to mass

protests to an anti-Communist rally attended by 8,000 demonstrators in the Georgian capital of Tbilisi. Clearly, Gorbachev's famed political skills were at work as he expressed his willingness to achieve reconciliation during the widely televised spectacle. At the same time the first public appearance of some military hardware including two T-25 mechanical battle tanks, a small part of the country's nuclear arsenal, emphasized the world's stake in the need for Moscow to achieve change without slipping into internal violence.

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow



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WORLD

## NORTHERN IRELAND

# 'We are at war here'

*An IRA leader justifies killing*

The Irish Republican Army is in the midst of one of its fiercest campaigns of violence on the British mainland. So far this year, it has launched 19 attacks, killing two civilians and Conservative MP Ian Gooch. In Northern Ireland itself, 65 people have died this year in clashes between the IRA and security forces and its violent sectarian violence. Last week, Michael's London Bureau Chief Andrew Phillips met in Belfast with a member of the IRA's general headquarters staff, the secret body that directs its armed operations. The meeting was arranged through republican sources, who vouched for the authenticity of the IRA member Phillips's report.

He answered the questions with a subdued casualness. "Oh, yeah, I've been responsible for quite a few deaths," said the friendly, well-spoken man perched on the edge of a bed in a tiny upstairs room of a brick row house. He grinned, flicking cigarette ash off the perfect, tapered end and added, "It's up there in the double figures!" He said that he participated in the killings while he was serving as what the IRA calls an "engineer," an expert at

making bombs and lethal booby traps aimed at politicians and British soldiers in Northern Ireland. He said guns are used, he said, shooting a policeman and four soldiers, one of whom died. As he spoke, his face reflected neither boastfulness nor remorse. "We are at war here," he said simply.

The man, who wore his disguise but gave his name only as Brendan, is in his mid-30s and has been a full-time member of the IRA since he was 17. Before that, he said, he was caught up in the sectarian riots that exploded in Belfast in 1969, and joined an IRA youth group at 14. He left school at 16, has never held a regular job and has never travelled outside Ireland. From a Belfast, where he was born and still lives, he seldom leaves outside a tight circle of sympathizers and fellow activists. Like the other hardened men and women who have kept the IRA's armed struggle against the British presence in Ulster alive for 31 years, Brendan has spent almost all of his life in the service of his cause. In the three-hour conversation, he provided a rare glimpse into the closed world that created them, and which now sustains them.

On the surface, there was little to suggest

**War games in Ulster: a closed world after 31 years of sectarian strife**

that Brendan's chosen trade was killing. The sound of two young girls playing could be heard downstairs, and at one point an elderly woman brought tea and cream cakes. Brendan himself, a short man with closely cropped reddish hair, was articulate and at times displayed an engaging sense of humor. When asked about reports that IRA leaders live off money extracted from local people, he laughed and turned out the pockets of his white jeans. "I've got 50 pence a dollar to my name," he said. "It's not *Lolita* style of the Rich and Famous." Independent experts agree that there is little evidence that IRA members profit personally from their activities. Said Michael Taylor, a psychologist and IRA expert at Trinity College in Cork, Ireland: "There is an almost puritanical streak to it."

But behind the IRA leader's genial tone was an underlying dedication to the goal of driving the British out and achieving a united Ireland by force. Even in the strangely nationalistic West Belfast neighborhood of Andersonstown, the IRA said that he had childhood memories of Protestants beating him in nearby areas, and "a general sense that we were second-class citizens." When Protestant mafia hitman Robert Corbett shot in 1999, he was one of the young teenagers who fought back. British troops armed that year, and many Catholics quickly came to regard them as enemies. Brendan's family moved their home to republican activists on the run from the police. At 17, when he joined the IRA, the organization sent him his weapons-training camp. "Like most young people then," he recalled, "I just wanted to fight back at the British."

As a result, he said, he served two long

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## WORLD

grain, bombs or weapons and explosives through Long Kesh prison, also known as the Maze, along with other IRA members. At the end of both sentences, he reported back to the IRA. He said that he went on "dozens" of missions to attack police or army targets, sometimes as often as two or three times a week. Many IRA attacks have resulted in the deaths of civilian bystanders, but Breslin insisted that all those who die as a result of his "operations" were members of the security forces. "If I was asked to go out and shoot someone just to terrify a community," he said, "I'd be incapable."

Although Breslin and other leaders of the IRA and Sinn Féin, the organization's legal political wing, were raised in staunchly Catholic communities, church leaders' repeated condemnations of IRA violence have had no effect

clashes with the security forces. He talked off the member of shots fired on his fingers, and quickly ran out of fingers. "There've been no more," he said. "People you've worked with, lived with."

Catholic leaders' anti-IRA statements have also failed to elicit more popular support for the organization among nonbeliever Catholics. Roughly a third of Northern Ireland's 600,000 Catholics have voted for Sinn Féin candidates, apparently because they approve of the IRA's activities. Security officials acknowledge that, without significant support, the terrorist group would find it much more difficult to continue its clandestine war. The IRA itself is very small, numbering only about 200 members, including possibly as few as 50 who actually carry out armed attacks, experts say. But its office on a much wider network of sympathizers,

its also run protection rackets and even legitimate businesses. In the past year, police have been given more extensive powers to collect information from financial institutions in order to undermine the IRA's money-raising operations. But one police official acknowledged last week that "it's a long, slow process."

The British minister responsible for Northern Ireland, Peter Brooke, has attempted at the past several months to initiate new negotiations towards a political settlement in Ulster. But those talks have almost entirely broken down before they even started, mainly because moderate Catholic and Unionist parties cannot agree on how they should be conducted. At the same time, the day-to-day hostility between the two communities continues unabated. Throughout West Belfast, authorities have



Rebellious child playing in rubble: many IRA attacks on British soldiers have resulted in the deaths of civilian bystanders.

on the group itself. In late October, after terrorists forced three officers to transport bombs to army targets—incidents that killed six soldiers and one of the so-called human bombs—Bishop Edward Daly of Londonderry attacked the IRA as followers of Satan. Breslin did not appear to be concerned by that unimpeachable language. "No one sees these as moral statements," he said. "They are political statements by politically biased people."

His own justification for killing? "My philosophy on life is that a person has to achieve the greatest amount of good in his life. And in Ireland, the greatest amount of good is to achieve lasting peace in this island. That means ending the British presence—anything less will not perpetuate the agony."

His own justification for killing, his leaders have become used to the suffering of others. And so, the deaths of young soldiers, Breslin acknowledged that these families would suffer much as anyone else. But he quickly switched the subject to the many deaths he has lost. IRA members killed in

who provide everything from money and information to the temporary use of cars and houses.

For activists like Breslin, full-time membership in the IRA offers few obvious rewards. After he finished his second prison term in the end 1980s, he married a woman who is a member of Sinn Féin, although not of the IRA itself. They have two children, aged 4 and 2, but little normal family life. "I never sleep more than two nights in a row in the same place," he said. "Sometimes I sleep at home sometimes my wife stays with me." Both parents speak only Gaelic to the children, part of their commitment to Irish language and culture. He collects no salary from the IRA, he said, but receives £20 (about \$75) a week in unemployment benefits.

As an organization, the IRA is fairly strong financially. Police estimate that it raises about \$5 million (roughly \$12.5 million) a year from donations, as well as from gambling, alcohol, drinking clubs, taxi companies and pirate video operations in West Belfast. Police say that the

built an intricate network of walls and fences to prevent Catholics and Protestants from traveling freely or gasoline bombs at each other's houses. Brian Proulx, a moderate Catholic city councillor in West Belfast, says that even more barriers are needed. "The streets and the bombs keep coming over," he said. "It's extremely gloomy."

Such forecasts almost guarantee that the IRA's violent campaign will continue indefinitely. Like other leaders of the republican movement, Breslin pointed to last year's unexpected collapse of the Iron Curtain to illustrate how he hopes a settlement might one day come in Northern Ireland—despite continual assertions by British leaders that they will never give in to terrorist violence. "Who could have foreseen what happened in Eastern Europe?" he asked. "The movement in towards democratization throughout Europe. Sooner or later, the British have to realize that we cannot be defeated in the warstate, he said. He is prepared to keep fighting—and killing—into the 21st century. □

To find the finest fish you have to look a little deeper.



WORLD

IRELAND

## Breaking new ground

Mary Robinson wins the presidency

At 35, she was Ireland's youngest presidential candidate to win a seat in the Senate. Last week, 49-year-old Mary Robinson once again broke new ground. The civil rights activist and lawyer, listed by Dublin bookshelves as a 1,000-to-1 long shot at the start of her campaign, beat all odds to win election as president and become the first female head of state in Irish history. "We have seen an example of people power," the voter declared, as supporters sang "Shine a light on Mrs. Robinson," a tune from the classic *Shenandoah* and Garth Brooks, but that became her campaign song. "It was a great, great day for the women of Ireland," added Robinson, who had the support of the Labour and Workers parties and various women's groups. "It shows we are a young European country looking to the future."

Robinson's victory won a secret blow to Prime Minister Charles Haughey and his con-

servative Fianna Fáil party, which had never lost a presidential election. The party's candidate, Deputy Prime Minister Brian Lemmon, had been the front-runner until a political scandal broke in October. Haughey was forced to fire his deputy after allegations surfaced that in 1982, Lemmon had tried to persuade President Patrick Hillery, who is retiring next month after 14 years, to appoint Haughey prime minister without formally calling an election. The scandal drastically reduced Lemmon's lead going into the Nov. 7 election, but Robinson did not win enough votes outright to claim victory. That took the support of voters whose first preference was third-place



Robinson: 'a great day'

finisher Austin Curran, who ran for the moderate Fine Gael party. Under Ireland's proportional representation system, Robinson gained the votes of Curran's supporters who had listed her as their second choice, thus giving her a 52.4 per cent majority.

Robinson has been at the forefront of change in Irish life for the past 20 years. In a staunchly conservative nation traditionally ruled by men and heavily influenced by the Roman Catholic Church, she has been instrumental in liberalizing laws that restricted contraception and women's rights. During the campaign, the married mother of three also called for the introduction of divorce, the legalization of homosexuality and the increased availability of information on abortion. And the women who campaigned with the slogan "You have a voice. I will make it heard" must remain largely silent during her seven-year presidential term, which begins on Dec. 3.

As the defender of Ireland's Constitution in the ceremonial

post, she is required to remain silent. Irish politics.

ANDREW ROBINSON with MICHAEL KEANE in Dublin

INDIA

## The temple of doom

A feud over a mosque topples the government

Indian politicians have begun to call the 16th-century Hindu-Muslim mosque in the northern town of Ayodhya "the Temple of Doom." Sporadically since 1985, Hindu militants have campaigned to destroy the mosque in order to make way for a temple on the site, which they claim is the birthplace of their god, Ram. Last year, they swayed Muslims by beginning work to lay a foundation stone for their temple. That, in part, led to the defeat of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's government in November, 1989, general elections. Vishwanath Prasad Singh became prime minister and, for a year, the star-of-the-show pit where Hindus had prepared to lay their stone remained untouched. But the issue continued to simmer. On Oct. 30, more than 50,000 Hindus stormed the

mosque, providing Hindu-Muslim riots there, and across the country, in which 280 people died. Last week, the temple claimed its latest victim, Singh, who deployed 250,000 troops in an effort to stop the assault on the mosque, lost a vote of confidence in Parliament, and his 13-month-old minority government collapsed. "The pit has swallowed two governments," said a senior official at the shrine. "Let's see who falls into it next."

Singh resigned as prime minister after he lost the confidence motion in the Lok Sabha, the lower house of Parliament, by an overwhelming 346 votes to 142 (both-right absolute) (his coalition government faced stouter opposition not only from his former allies in the Hindu revivalist Bharatiya Janata party, who have campaigned to build the temple at Ayodhya, but also from dissenters within Singh's own Janata Dal party. Last Thursday, Indian President Ramkrishna Varma announced that Gandhi, whose Congress (I) party has the most members—185 of the 545 seats in the Lok Sabha—to form a new government. Gandhi refused, and instead threw his support behind veteran socialist Chandra Shekhar, who, claiming the allegiance of at least 56 other deputies, broke away from Singh's Janata Dal party. At week's end, Varma announced Shekhar the new prime minister and asked him to form a government.

Political analysts in India said last week that Gandhi likely refused the job because he did not want to suffer the political consequences of

riding in the climate of violence surrounding the Ayodhya mosque dispute. At the same time, because Shekhar needs the Congress party's parliamentary support, Gandhi will have the power to dictate that Shekhar call a new election whenever it would appear to favor his party. Western diplomats last week warned that Shekhar's tenuous position will result in an unstable government. Said one diplomat who requested anonymity: "This is going to be the smoldering tail dragging the biggest dog in the history of parliamentary democracy."

With Gandhi's support, Shekhar is certain to win the parliamentary vote of confidence that he must call by Nov. 30. Then, he will face an enormous challenge in resolving a series of bitter disputes. Since Singh came to power last December, at least 4,000 people have been killed in acts of violence, including a Sikh assassination campaign, a revolt in the Muslim-dominated Jammu and Kashmir state, and student street protests against Singh's decision to increase the number of government jobs reserved for lower-caste Hindus. And the most volatile issue, the question of Hindu rights to the Ayodhya mosque, remained unresolved. As he left office last week, a reluctant Singh told his courtiers: "Religion is the lamp of the soul. Let a light pierce your eye. Do not use it to spread the flames of hatred." Despite that appeal, the new prime minister seemed doomed to a cross-rifted role.

MARY NEMETH with correspondent reports

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SEAFOODS

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# FIGHTING MAD

**I**t was as if he sensed the prospects in advance. Lining up at a Houston morning house near his kept home address, The Houston Chronicle, to cast his ballot in last week's elections, George Bush was uncharacteristically subdued. Gone were the jumpy energy in his step and the playful wisecracks that had amused his first two years as the most popular president to face modern elections in recent American history. But over the past two months, his personal approval ratings plummeted by more than 30 points. And one wing of his own Republican party was in open revolt. Vermont Republican Representative Peter Smith had even denounced his policies while Bush sat beside him on the step during periods in the candidate's breakfast-hour routine: the privacy of his hotel suite on the eve of the election, making small talk with newspaper and network news deadlines, the President had discreetly urged the controversial bill that was the cause of his woes: the \$495-billion budget accord, which had devastated his credibility by breaking his 1988 campaign pledge not to raise taxes.

Last week, as the consequences of that tumultuous week unfolded in the polling booth, an embittered Bush flew back to Washington and clattered himself in the White House for 36 hours to contemplate a vote that dealt a blow to both his popularity and his personal savings (pages 37 and 38). Nor could he take any comfort in red polls indicating that the voters' two greatest concerns were a recession and a war in the Middle East, both acrimoniously lobby prospects. With Republicans losing one Senate seat—leaving the Democrats with a 56- to 44 majority—and eight seats in the Democratic stronghold of the House of Representatives, Bush now faces his room for negotiating maneuvers with Congress further reduced.

**Unsettled.** And after 14 Republicans for whom he campaigned in the 18 legislative-fought races failed to win, analysts concluded that his presidential optimism had also shriveled—an unsettling omen only two years before the 1992 elections. Said Richard Viguerie, a campaign

## WITH ELECTION WOUNDS STILL FRESH, GEORGE BUSH TURNS UP THE HEAT ON IRAQ



Bush and Clinton gone were the President's playful wisecracks.

consultant from the Republican right wing: "If he had been on the ballot yesterday against a credible Democrat, he would have suffered a massive defeat." And Democratic National Committee chairman Ross Perot said on the morning after the vote: "We are already in the 1992 campaign. Yesterday's elections were a referendum on George Bush and he failed the test."

In fact, having broken his anti-tax vow, Bush appeared bereft of the one strategy dominant since around which Republicans had rallied. Axl in his search for direction, his political compass pointed back towards the Middle East, as he resorted to campaigning against

Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein, whose he spun moored on comparing to Adolf Hitler. Even Bush supporters worried openly that he may never regain the numbers he brought he enjoyed in polls late more than two months ago, bowed by the collapse of the Cold War and his left assembly of an international consensus in the Persian Gulf crisis. With 330,000 American troops already deployed in the Saudi Arabian sands, Bush tried to divert attention from his electoral setbacks by calling two news conferences on the same day. The first one centered on the election results. In the second, he aggressively announced that he was switching to an offensive posture in the Middle East, increasing American troop strength by at least another 150,000, cutting U.S. ground forces in Germany by a dramatic 50 per cent to do so.

But reports of that decision had previously filtered out of the Pentagon. And the on-again presidential administration had already begun to rub salt into the wounds of the election. Last Friday, Bush, surrounded with his top economic advisers at the presidential retreat at Camp David, Md., over a White House report, to be released this week, that shows a sharp deterioration in the U.S. economy, worsened by the continued Gulf and energy crises.

**Fallen.** Barber in the week, presidential economic adviser Michael Boskin stopped just short of predicting a recession, calling it instead a "fall" that could last past mid-1993, that no matter what they called it, other White House officials expressed concern that Bush's politically costly budget proposals had already proved fatal in a sweeping campaign diversion.

With the President's political bow and his domestic policy in disarray, the grim economic prospects heralded two to three years ahead for a man whose one-time mill appeal on the anti-tax battle. As Brown pointed out, "When people are worried about their economic future, they tend to vote Democrat. And frankly, the economy does not look real good." Declared Republican consultant Lynn Nofziger: "If we're facing cuts in revenues, it will be more difficult to



Bush with Air Force personnel at Tinker base in Oklahoma: a credibility devastated because of a broken promise on taxes.

Bush to rescue. The presidency is in trouble."

In fact, for Democrats, the election marked the most crushing news for the party in more than a decade. Many of them suddenly expressed new hope for a 1993 presidential race that they had previously assumed would be another Democratic handoff. In the rapidly altered political landscape whose Bush's record approval ratings had already been pruned, Louisiana Senator John Breaux, head of the Democrats' senatorial campaign committee, predicted that now previously resistant presidential candidates may now risk challenging him. Said Breaux, one of the President's frequent terms partners: "This election has shown the engine is not necessarily—added in, not a major-league in the political sense. I think we're going to see a lot more bats in the ring."

Still, two of the main must maintained for that contrast were wounded by last week's angry electorate. In New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, who had campaigned against to victory over runaway Republican Paterson Rader, increased by one winning against completion. He defeated Rader by 53 to 22 per cent—but his showing was 12 percentage points less than in his 1986 landslide over a better-known and better-financed opponent. Said acting Republican National Committee chairman Charles

Black, "That doesn't exactly look like presidential timber to me."

But the damage to Cuomo's image was minor compared with the near-collapse suffered on another likely Democratic presidential contender, Senate Bill Bradley, by angry New Jersey voters. Despite a 26-point lead that he had held in the polls, the former basketball star only emerged to squander in victory over an obscure opponent named Christine Todd Whitman, by almost four per cent of the vote. Even Whitman, however, acknowledged that Bradley was the object of electoral rage over a \$3.3-billion package of tax increases enacted by Democratic Gov. James Florio, as action that Bradley refused to criticize. Said the Republican Charles Black, "Voters couldn't punish Florio for that, so a lot of folks tried to punish Bill Bradley." Said the senator on the morning after the election: "I got the message, I got the message."

**Repealed.** Bradley was a victim of the only clear message that emerged from the largely middle-class suburban results in Kansas, Nebraska and Florida, voters turned out of office. Three governors who, like Bush, had resigned on promises not to raise taxes. For Bush, the defeat of Florida's Republican Gov. Robert Martinez offered a double solacing warning. Not only had the President repeatedly can-

ceded for him, but Bush's son John Ellis was Martinez's campaign chairman. And one of his TV commercial featured First Lady Barbara Bush, in trademark "Bush-bush" dress and pearls, claiming that she would be the candidate for the governor.

Like Bradley, Bush emerged from his post-electoral retreat to signal that he had absorbed the election's fiscal lesson. Declaring that he was beginning "renewal work," he dashed off his pledge not to raise taxes—again—this time "absolutely." But the explosive news prompted to public flame over the next two years. House Majority Leader Thomas Foley said that when the next congressional session opens in the new year, he will reintroduce a proposed surtax on the nation's top millionaires, which the Democrats had dropped in fiscal negotiations over the budget package.

In fact, with the taxman debate, Democrats have succeeded in easing this party's long-time identity crisis—thanks in part to the President himself. After Bush insisted on cutting the capital gains tax and refused to raise other major taxes for the nation's wealthiest people, Republicans found themselves again depicted as the party of the rich. Almost by default, the Democrats rediscovered their traditional image as defenders of the underprivileged and the middle class. Declared Brown:



"Bush helped us a lot in defining ourselves."

Still the Democrats mostly lauded what would appear to be their fierce opposition to every sort of military work. Even a black Washington lawyer who managed Jack Jackson's ultra-liberal 1986 presidential bid, said that Democrats no longer needed to be defensive about their traditional liberal stance. But within half an hour of that statement, Virginia Senator Charles Robb, one of the leaders of the party's conservative wing, contradicted him.

**Revered** Robb claimed that the election results proved that only a "moderate, mainstream"—and by implication Southern—Democratic candidate could win in the next presidential election. As it happened, that profile neatly matched his own, as well as that of Georgia's Senator Sam Nunn, the chairman of the Senate armed services committee, who recently spruced up his image by resigning from a suburban Washington golf club that effectively bars both blacks and women. Said Louisiana's Bennett, with a barb aimed at Clinton: "A northeastern candidate with a traditional old-style message cannot be effective in 1992."

Arguing that the electorate had recoiled from ideological extremes, conservative Democrats cited the example of Georgia Representative Newt Gingrich, the standard-bearer of

the Republicans (he right, who almost lost his seat, but Robert Buzgaro of Washington's liberal Institute for Policy Studies claimed that last winter's vote tallied just the opposite message. With Vermont's election of Bernard Sanders, the first socialist to win a congressional seat since 1944, he pointed out, "we



U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia: An increasingly likely prospect of war

just elected the most radical man in the Senate in its history—that same message."

The debate signified a potentially brewing battle for the soul of the Democratic party. Bush, after all, can draw conflicting conclusions from a vote that seemed largely a tangle of contradictions. "I thought we might have some definable tax issues," acknowledged Robb. Proponents of almost any viewpoint could find

support in sometimes self-contradictory voting patterns. Although pollsters had predicted that voters were in a center, conservative mood, tied up with the politicians in power, 66 per cent of incumbents were re-elected: one more to the portfolios of their offices. But proponents of the anti-incumbent theory claimed justification in the fact that many features of the political establishment found their margins of victory sharply trimmed.

In Texas, Democratic state treasurer Ann Richards claimed her gubernatorial victory over newly-hatched Republican Clayton Williams as a victory for women. "There will be a lot of little girls who open their history books to see my picture," she said, "and they will say, 'it's our 11'."

Similarly, showcasing its interests, who saw Richards's win as a sign that the issue could cut through party lines, had to confront a mixed message from several of the winning states, including Texas, Florida and California.

the governor is no longer an abolition foe, but a supporter of women's choice on the issue. However, in other states, the statehouse, which now holds the power to state abortion bills, is on the other way.

Even when both Democrats and Republicans leaders agreed that the \$280-billion collapse of savings-and-loan institutions, the largest financial scandal in the country's history, had played

downward momentum for the Democratic presidential nomination, would be a near certainty to win one of the Senate seats.

The other significant winner was Democratic Senator Helen Margetis, who became the district's nominating delegate to the House of Representatives. Margetis, 53, has a strong, colorful right-brother, but for her reputation suffered during the campaign after "The Washington Post" reported that she and her husband, Edward, a former chairman of the city's Board of Elections and Ethics, had not filed local income tax returns since 1982. The couple has since paid more than \$100,000 in back taxes and penalties. Margetis's task will be to persuade the House to give the city's court money, as they did the financially distressed national capital into the new decade.



There's a new decade

god that she shares with Dennis and Jackson as they lead the financially distressed national capital into the new decade.

**WILLIAM LOVITZER** in Washington



	Pre-election Balance	Controlled	Results	New Balance	Gain/Losses
Governors	29 Dem 21 Rep	20 Dem 16 Rep	19 Dem 14 Rep 2 Ind.	28 Dem * 19 Rep 2 Ind.	
Senate	55 Dem 45 Rep	17 Dem 18 Rep	18 Dem 17 Rep	56 Dem 44 Rep	+1 Dem -1 Rep
House	258 Dem 175 Rep 2 vacancies	435 Seats	267 Dem 167 Rep 1 other		+9 Dem -8 Rep

\* A special will be held in Arizona

almost no role in the billings, events soon contradicted them. Two days after the election, California Senator Alan Cranston, one of five senators under investigation by the Senate ethics committee this week for their ties to former Lincoln Savings and Loan Association president Charles Keating, announced that he was resigning as Democratic party whip and was back on again in 1992. The 76-year-old senator attributed his decision to private causes. But exit polls in the California gubernatorial race may have hastened his decision: 54 per cent of those surveyed said that they thought Cranston should resign immediately.

**Muted.** The Democrats congratulated themselves for winning the governorships of Florida and Texas, two of the three largest states that will pick up new congressional seats during the critical redistricting process next year. But the cheers were muted because the party lost the biggest prize of all, California, which will gain the same total of new members, seven.

In fact, going into the autumn crystal ball, the clearest picture of the electoral future to emerge is one that bears an eerie resemblance to the past. At a time when politics around the world have been on all the headlines possible, one of a mid-century crisis in the George Bush who has emerged from last month's budget battles calls to mind the candidate of the same name who thrashed through the opening months of the 1988 presidential campaign accused of indecision, a lack of what he called "the vision thing" and so apparent unable to build together the fractured Republican coalition longingly Ronald Reagan.

But in 1988, two showed political skeletons transformed Bush's features almost overnight. Speech-writer Peggy Noonan, scripted him a crutch popular credo: "Read my lips—no new taxes." And Republican strategist Lee Atwater first masterminded a bruising negative campaign that destroyed his Democratic challenge, Al Gore, then landed the words with a dose of Clinton's lost-pod politics. Now after the publication of his White House memoirs, *What I Saw at the Revolution: A Political Life in the Reagan Era*, Noonan, 39,



Larry Roth says: Republicans depicted as the party of the rich

has depicted to last month's studies in New York City and Austin, she, 39, has been sidelined from politics, fighting for his life against a malignant brain tumor.

Some opinions said that Bush did not first that there always said the election before of the extraordinary conjunction of lucky circumstances. "During the first two years," declared

one Republican consultant, David Keene, "all of the time were relying for right wing conservatism collapse; the economy was good and the invasion of Panama was a huge success." Even Bush had said as the early, successful months of his presidency that he owed his soaring approval ratings to the general election. When he signed the photographic letter of support, that as Keene pointed out, "the trouble with high opinion polls is that people outside they're popular because they're themselves, and they may listening." He cited a claim by White House chief of staff John Sununu that Bush could break his go-to vote even because he "was so popular, he could do whatever he wanted." Added Keene: "That kind of thinking is a great leveler."

New Bush has to win back the party's disaffected right wing, the conservative Republican constituency, before he can tackle his Democratic opponents in 1992. But so worried are conservatives that many are searching for a candidate of their own to challenge his apparent lack as the Republican nomination. And most observers predict neither tactic, unlikely, saved conservatism the general election.

**Barbed:** Already, Bush, who two years ago launched an effort to "renew beliefs in the Republican party," has apparently abandoned that outreach. Last month, he visited a major credit crisis, largely to avoid confronting wealthy southerners. And in a move for North Carolina's ultra-right-wing Senator Jesse Helms against his black Democratic opponent, Harvey Gantt, Bush outlined to disavow use of Helms's most blatant racial-baiting tactics. Helms used evocative, racist imagery, including in heavily black precincts, warning people about fires and pol terms if they were caught voting at the wrong poll. Rep. Willie Brown-Senator, a black opponent, named from Dallas, said of the President: "This is the first time he's had to make some serious decisions. The real George Bush has just stood up."

The politician Bush has never been comfortable playing the lower registers of down-and-dirty politics. And he may not have to. As the prospect of a war in the Gulf grows closer to inevitability, a offers him the possibility of another enormous, foreign-policy, public relations triumph—as well as even more cash. The Midland, Texas, oilman has been virtually assured he will be re-elected," said Keene, "as that he's a one-term president. It can save him or destroy him." Added Robert Borenstein: "With a war, Bush can be a great hero or a great fool. But that is a choice: a choice that there are more morals, even presidents, can control."

**MARCI McDONALD** in Washington

## A CLEAN SWEEP IN THE CAPITAL

As much as anything, the elections in Washington marked the end of the Martin Barry era. The charismatic politician, who has served as the powerful Democratic mayor of the nation's capital for the past 13 years, was replaced by the voters in his attempt to win a seat on the District of Columbia city council. A Massapequa entrepreneur's son, the 54-year-old Barry had watched his political dominance erode ever since his arrest last January and subsequent indictment on cocaine and jewelry charges. In August, he was convicted on one transportation drug count and sentenced in October to six months in jail, a conviction that he is appealing. With no chance of re-election anyway, Barry tried for a council seat. Washington residents, however, had apparently had enough. They gave Barry just 17 per cent of the vote—a humiliating end to a long, if turbulent, political career.

In the majority race, Democrat Sharon Pratt Dixon won 46 per cent of the vote to

become the first black woman elected to lead a major American city. As a symbol of her intent to sweep into the scandal-plagued Barry administration, Dixon carried a message onto the platform for her victory address. In fact, it was her promise of moralistic fiscal and moral reform in the city government that swept her to victory. But the 46-year-old former utility company executive faces huge problems in her new job, including an estimated overall budget deficit of more than \$100 million.

Her election and Barry's defeat revitalized the rest of the city elections, but there were at least two other noteworthy races to note. Ben Jones Jackson beat 37 opponents to win his first elected office as a socialist shadow senator, as expected, nominating delegate to lobby Congress to make the District of Columbia population 510,000 the 51st state and grant it two senators and a congressman. Should be secured, Jackson, the 49-year-old



Dixon: a new decade

Democratic contender for the Democratic presidential nomination, would be a near certainty to win one of the Senate seats.

The other significant winner was Democratic Senator Helen Margetis, who became the district's nominating delegate to the House of Representatives. Margetis, 53, has a strong, colorful right-brother, but for her reputation suffered during the campaign after "The Washington Post" reported that she and her husband, Edward, a former chairman of the city's Board of Elections and Ethics, had not filed local income tax returns since 1982. The couple has since paid more than \$100,000 in back taxes and penalties. Margetis's task will be to persuade the House to give the city's court money, as they did the financially distressed national capital into the new decade.

**WILLIAM LOVITZER** in Washington



Quayle campaigning: "I stand by all the misstatements that I've made"

# ROASTING QUAYLE

## THE VICE-PRESIDENT FIGHTS HIS IMAGE

On the eve of last week's congressional vote, as candidates aired their final TV commercials as a last-ditch effort to drum upable support, one politician, whose name did not appear on any ballot, took to the airwaves on a smaller mission: Vice-President Dan Quayle made his network acting debut on the television comedy *Maver Duv*. In a 90-second cameo role filmed in his White House office, Quayle played himself, planning to decline an invitation to a Marine Corps gile from a bespectacled female officer (beamed with his clean-cut good looks). In the candidly photographed appearance, he waxes the White House briefcase (script approval), Greasy Sgt. Alvin Karpis (sworn at the mere mention of the vice-president's name) Biggles Bricker. "Can I help of the map hangs out the female award as me?" That curious bid to win Quayle heartthrob status was the latest indication of one of George Bush's toughest political problems heading into the 1992 presidential race: how to recast the hapless image of his second-in-command.

The 41-year-old Quayle remains best known as the buff of piers on the TV talk-show circuit. Despite his two years in office, and a staff of

seasoned staffers, a *New York Times* CBS News poll last month reported that his approval rating had sunk by more than 30 points since last spring to 34 per cent. Those results revived a Dump Quayle movement in some Republican circles. In fact, as Quayle campaigned across 45 states for the party's candidates in last week's elections, some analysts noted that, however hard he was cheerleading for other Republicans, he was also campaigning for his own political survival.

**Dugout.** From the moment Bush stated the 1988 Republican convention by glowing the heretofore senator from decency to be his running mate, Quayle has found himself dogged by questions about his credentials and capabilities. At the time, political consultants predicted that the controversy over his lackluster academic record and hesitance to enlist in the National Guard either: then serve in Vietnam would vanish when he found his footing in office. But six months after the election, some of his managers reveled in the exposure of Quayle's stuff. "He was like a kid. We knew we were going to have to scold him."

The vice-president also has a much-pro-

blem and enduring tendency for verbal disasters. In one of his most celebrated national misstatements, he addressed the United Negro College Fund, whose motto is "A mind is a terrible thing to waste." Said Quayle: "What a waste it is to lose one's mind or not to have a mind. How true that is." In fact, instead of valedictorian, Quayle's haphazard repetition is becoming even more pervasive. Two enterprising Redford, Conn., publishers regularly chronicle his misadventures in *The Quayle Quarterly*, which now has a circulation of about 14,000.

**Cheer.** And last month, the publishers announced a 1991 Quayle calendar entitled "A Day for All Seasons." It features a montage of his most verbal calamities along with his assurances: "I stand by all the misstatements that I've made." Said Larry Salton, a political science professor at the University of Virginia: "Whatever he does will generate piles. He could be addressing the National Science Foundation and the media would still make a pile about it."

Bush, who languished for eight years as Ronald Reagan's shadow and attended no many foreign state dinners that he used to joke, "So do, we fly," has reacted with sympathy to the vice-president's problems. But his assignment of Quayle to a less visible post—attending the inauguration of six new Latin American heads of state—left White House officials reeling. In Chile last March, Quayle was bowing at a seated monarch's coronet with reporters when he pecked up a wooden table doll which fell, causing the newspaper to hastily put it, "astonishingly correct." But instead of hastily dropping the shorn souvenir, Quayle bought it. Said the vice-president to his date-leaving wife, who kept trying to direct his attention to a copper vase: "I could take this home, Marjorie. This is something everyone might find of interest." Marjorie Quayle shook her head. "You're so rich," she said.

Reassigned to the campaign staff, Quayle proved a tireless booster of the Republican cause—even if some candidates shrivel from being photographed with him. In fact, with the Persian Gulf crisis heating up, 68 per cent of respondents in the *New York Times* poll, including most Republicans, now say that they would worry about something happen to the President, albeit Quayle's resignation would take over. Last week's congressional results, deepening a deficit closer to Bush, have also increased pressure on him to name a more respected 1992 running mate.

But, in fact, Quayle may serve as a useful lightning rod, drawing criticism away from Bush. The vice-president himself apparently seems resigned to that task. As he once said, "Vice-presidents are there to be kicked around." In that part of the job description, Quayle has certainly succeeded.

MARCI McDONALD in Washington

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Progressive valve shafts deliver variable induction system development experience designed to excite for the Acura NSX boasts low end torque by 26% without sacrificing power and performance.

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COVER

# MASSACHUSETTS MIRACLE

## A BLUE-BLOODED UNDERDOG WINS THE RACE

He is a preppy, brassy, strawberry-blond underdog: a descendant of early settlers in Massachusetts but a Republican outsider in an overwhelmingly Democratic state. And throughout his campaign for governor, 45-year-old William Weld was overshadowed by two more prominent political figures. One was Michael Dukakis, the law-school governor who not only lost the Democratic presidential race in 1988 but then watched his so-called Massachusetts Miracle dissolve in a sea of red ink and rising taxes. The other was John Silber, the 69-year-old president of Boston University whose long-agoed, accelerated ascent into him the Democratic nomination and national attention as an underdog up-and-comer. But last week, it was the underdog, Weld, who emerged triumphant, narrowly defeating Silber to break the Dukakis' 16-year stranglehold on the governorship. Flanked by his wife, Susan, and their five children in the ballroom of Boston's Park Plaza Hotel, Weld declared, "Today the voters of Massachusetts opted for change."

**Quirk:** The Man-Mountain Weld's victory over the hunched Silber marked a dramatic reversal in Massachusetts, one of the most notably liberal states in the country. The Trans-hill Silber was an early front-runner. Hailed as a reforming, if quirky, voice as Democratic circles, Silber used his popularity as a double weapon. But, by the end of the hard-fought campaign, his conservative remarks about blacks, women and the elderly played backfired. Weld managed to attract disaffected liberals, as well as conservatives in his own party, to capture 58 percent of the 2.3 million votes cast, compared with Silber's 44 percent. The Weld conservative, now faces an even grimmer challenge: in trying to reverse the state's economic decline. Said Harvard political analyst Martin Levin: "That will determine his political future."

In fact, Weld's future is a throwback to 1975, when a newly unemployed Dukakis kept a butcher on his desk as a symbol of fiscal prudence. Dukakis launched Massachusetts on the road to prosperity. Tightfisted computer engineers drilled the landscape, abandoned cattle trails were transformed into stylish shopping centers and new office towers sprang up in Boston. But the table had turned when the state's high-tech industries were overabundantly

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Governor-elect Weld: inheriting a disastrous economic legacy

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HILARY HACKETT is in Boston

# MIDTERM BLUES

## INCUMBENTS SURVIVE, REPUBLICANS SUFFER

In key Senate, House and gubernatorial races across the United States last week, incumbents won the overwhelming majority of elections despite pre-election polling that showed a strong anti-establishment sentiment. State governors suffered most from the election's anger. And the small midwestern backlist against the President's party was also evident. Some political analysts said that the results showed that George Bush might be vulnerable in the 1992 presidential campaign if current trends accelerate. Madison's correspondents covered some of the most controversial contests. Their reports:



**MINNESOTA:** Of all the elections last week, those in Minnesota drew the most attention—and the most excitement as a result—because they would have changed the state's political landscape. Despite outpolling his opponent by 5-to-1, two-term Republican Senator Rudy Boschwitz, 60, was the only Senate incumbent in the country to be defeated, losing to liberal Democrat Paul Wellstone, a 46-year-old political science professor wearing his first election campaign.

At the same time, three-term Democratic Gov. Rudy Perpich, 62, lost to Republican Arvo Carlson, a state legislator. Carlson became the first Republican to win a state governor's office before the election, hastily replacing incumbent Jim Grunquist, who dropped out over allegations that he had sexually dipped with two teenage girls at a pool party and had a blonde mistress throughout his two marriages. Said Boschwitz: "Politics hasn't exactly been shrouded in glory in this state this year, and all of us who are in office have suffered."



**CALIFORNIA:** Republican Senator Pete Wilson was expected to slide into the governor's office; he was eight points ahead in the polls last month. But first it and quickly dissolved, and in the eve of voting day, Nov. 6, Wilson was even with his Democratic rival, Dianne Feinstein, who seemed poised to win an upset. But as the final absentee ballots were still being counted, it soon was declared the winner in the race to succeed outgoing Republican Gov. George Deukmejian was a lead of fewer than 200,000 votes.

The victory was significant because, working with the state legislature, Wilson will decide how to divide California's seven state congressional seats, the biggest state of any state. By 1992, about one of every eight members of Congress will come from California. It was the decisive issue that gave the race its momentum: the new governor can choose that the new electoral boundaries favor his party.

Wilson, 57, served 10 years as mayor of San Diego before winning his Senate race in 1982, but he is a colorful figure in a controversial political state. The victorious 47-year-old politician, the mayor of San Francisco from 1978 to 1986, had the support of many minority groups among California's 29 million residents. The candidates were close on many issues: both were pro-choice on abortion, favored the death penalty and opposed offshore oil drilling. Feinstein, however, came out in support of Proposition 13, a remarkably sweeping environmental initiative known as Big Green. Like Feinstein, Big Green was ultimately defeated.

**TEXAS:** Bush spent the last three days of the campaign in his adopted state trying to convince Republican gubernatorial candidate Clayton Williams. But Bush was unable to stop the rough-edged rancher, oilman and banker from defeating himself. Williams, 55, thrived away from his two-hugs, lead over his Democratic rival, State Treasurer Ann Richards, 57, with a series of mistakes. Starting with his advice to view bad weather like rape—"It's inevitable, at least, relax and enjoy it"—Williams compounded his problems by showing a poor grasp of the news and discussing that he had not paid income tax in 1986.

Support for abortion rights was one factor in Williams' dramatic come-from-behind ascent. And exit polls showed her receiving 64 per cent of the women's vote. Williams, who gained prominence as the Bush-bashing keynote speaker at the 1986 Democratic National Convention, also benefited from what was perhaps her opponent's most costly mistake: His refusal to shake her hand at one point appearance, which offended many Texans. And in the last days of a tumultuous campaign, Richards was denied about a man who paid no taxes but was able to invest \$9.4 million of his own money to seek election.



**NEW JERSEY:** The Senate race in the Garden State provided one of the biggest surprises of all: former basketball star Jim Bradley, 47, among the Democratic party's most promising newcomers, almost lost to an unknown challenger, Republican Christine Todd Whitman, 54, a former public-utilities official, under within four percentage points of the incumbent when she turned the race into a referendum on Democratic Gov. James Florio's tax increases—as an issue in which Bradley had refused to take a stand. Whitman, who had less than \$1 million to spend compared with Bradley's \$14 million, had successfully sought more money from the Republican National Committee. Some Republicans now say that a better-funded campaign might have won the seat. Bradley has been regarded as a presidential contender. But as he enters his third term in the Senate, his record last week may state the White House a much more elusive prize.



**CONNECTICUT:** Former three-term Republican Senator Lowell Weicker, a craft, 59-year-old economist, rode an anti-incumbent wave to the governor's mansion. Democratic Gov. William O'Donnell was re-elected the spot after 10 years, and Weicker repeated both major parties and even as an independent, taking 40 per cent of the vote in the three-way race. Republican John Rowland secured 30 per cent and Democrat Bruce Babbitt 21 per cent. Weicker has long been an openly liberalizing Republican liberal, having his 10 years in the Senate. He had lost his seat to Democrat Joseph Lieberman in 1986.

But last week, he was more than half his years drag Democrats to become the state's first independent governor since the Civil War. He says that he wants to revolutionize his government by firing wasteful, professional and businessmen to join in the decision-making process. He will seek to help to lower a huge budget deficit, high unemployment and decaying cities.



**NORTH CAROLINA:** In the nation's most closely watched Senate race, three-term, ultra-conservative Republican Jesse Helms defeated his liberal opponent, Harvey Gantt, who was trying to become the first black Democrat ever elected to the Senate. Late opinion polls had shown the 47-year-old former Charlotte mayor running a few points ahead of Helms. And after allowing for the usual pattern of some white respondents lying to pollsters when a black candidate is involved, Gantt had been considered

even better going into the final week of the campaign.

But Helms then fired what he called his "silver bullet." It took the form of a TV spot showing a white woman crumpling a notice that he had been denied a job because it had to go to a "minority" instead. The ad then attacked Gantt for supporting "The Klu Klux Klan's racist quote 'it,' the civil rights bill of 1960 that President Bush had vetoed. Gantt needed about 40 per cent of the white vote to win, but he only managed to get 35 per cent. Analysts said that Helms's victory showed that the race issue, when cast in terms of racial preferences or employment, could swing decisively with white voters. Helms a modest man, Helms trumpeted his victory. "There is no joy in Middlebush," he declared. "The wealthy liberal/elite establishment, the liberal politicians and editors and commentators and columnists have struck out again."



**FLORIDA:** Bush worked hard to ensure the re-election of Robert Martinez, 55, the Republican governor of one of the Sun Belt's biggest states. But Martinez, only the second Republican governor in Florida in this century, was easily defeated by Democrat Lawrence G. Oliver, 56, a former mayor who won 59 per cent of the vote. Martinez suffered many voters by raising taxes and advocating restrictive abortion laws, while Oliver's pro-choice stance was a political asset. But there was another message from the Florida race: Martinez spent nearly \$15 million, much of it on TV advertising. Oliver refused to accept campaign contributions from lobby groups and received maximum donations to \$100. Democrats expressed the hope that the tactic will spread, putting pressure on Republicans to shed their advantage in national fund-raising.

# CAUTIOUS YULE SHOPPERS

## FALLING SALES AND HIGHER VACANCY RATES USHER IN A LEAN SEASON FOR RETAILERS

**T**raditionally, the 11 weeks between Thanksgiving and Christmas are a time when both store owners and their customers are full of cheer. Retailers often ring up half or more of their annual sales during the pre-Christmas rush, selling most of their merchandise at full price. But this year, with the economy crumbling, store owners have little to celebrate. Wilfred Postma, for one, chairman of one of Canada's largest retail chains Toronto-based Delta Ltd., is cautions about today's harsh selling environment. Although the current recession is just beginning, Postma—whose company holdings include the Club Monaco fashion chain, Forevermark and Sany Store women's shops, along with Harry Rosen and Tap Tap Tailors menswear stores—predicts that it will be even worse than the 1981-1982 downturn. For Dylis and its competitors, Postma says, "it's going to be a fight just to hold even."

Thousands of smaller retailers have already closed their stores instead of chortle Christmas donations, more and more store windows across the country bear the grim signs of recession: banners advertising deep discounts and "For Rent" signs. In a desperate bid to hang on to struggling tenants, many mall owners and developers have slashed rents to almost half the levels that prevailed during the booming late 1980s. And the pain from the slump is spreading far beyond stores and shopping centres.

Last week, after Toronto's Hudson's Bay Co. completed its purchase of Towers Department Stores Inc., it told all 375 employees at

Towers: "Toronto head office and 50 in Montreal that they will lose their jobs by Feb. 3. Those layoffs followed an announcement a week earlier by Sears Canada Inc. that it will eliminate up to 500 jobs in Ontario, Quebec and Atlantic Canada. Sears sold one last-of-its-kind Towers buyer, who asked not to be identified because it still is unaware of the terms of his new severance package. "I feel like Custer at Little Big Horn."

Most merchants say that they expect conditions to deteriorate in the months ahead. Last week, the Toronto-based chartered accounting firm Deloitte & Touche released its annual Christmas outlook survey of 135 small and large retail chains. Forty-three per cent of them predicted that industry sales would be lower this year than last year, while 36 per cent predicted that sales would stay about the same. And four out of five predicted that the Canadian economy would continue to shrink in 1991.

In part, retailers are paying the price for the strong sales they enjoyed during the late 1980s. As consumers went on a spending spree, average household debt grew by more than 30 per cent a year between 1986 and 1988. Now, many people have curtailed their

spending and are trying to pay down mortgages and a wide variety of other debts. Says Postma: "You've got a very anxious consumer who has more debt and less savings than he's ever had before."

Postma and other retailers say that the prospect of the seven per cent federal Goods and Services Tax is also causing consumers to reduce spending. Only a few months ago, some retailers were predicting a sales upsurge before the end of the year as buyers rushed to purchase items—such as clothing—as they felt it was at a higher rate if the tax goes into effect on Jan. 1. But the sales bubble has failed to materialize. Says Leonard Kishin, a Toronto retailing consultant: "People have stopped spending because they are not sure what is going to happen."

Another problem for retailers is that the number of stores and shopping centres increased rapidly in many parts of the country during the 1980s, increasing competition. "There are more retailers out there than ever before," Postma says. "They're all grown, built up, built new shopping centres."

In Montreal, last year's new major downtown shopping mall has opened in the past three years. Said Mark Oppenheim, a Montreal-based partner with Dylis & Touche: "Montreal is over-stored, especially in the clothing field."

In fact, the overcapacity of vacant store space is being cited as one of the few bright spots for retailers who plan to renew leases or open new stores. The retail mall owners have slashed rents in order to attract tenants. Seymour Glusack, a partner in Toronto-based Sincrop Investments Ltd., which negotiates leases on behalf of 70 national retail chains, says that annual store rents currently average between \$20 and \$30 per square foot, down from \$30 to \$40 last year and nearly \$50 three years ago. But Glusack, whose clients include retail stores and food's chains, cautions that only a small proportion are able to benefit from the fact because rents are locked into leases of seven to 10 years.

For example, many small retailers, such as Dennis Becker, who operates a shoe



Place Montreal Trust mall: the pain is spreading

outlet in Collingwood, Ont., are trying to negotiate rent reductions. Last year, Becker held a so-called warehouse sale to attract customers behind bar sales to clear out a backlog of several hundred pairs of shoes. She also told the first 20 employees that they may be laid off for one week next early in the New Year. "I hope we can avoid layoffs," she added. "But we'll have to see what happens."

Even the weather appears to be turning against retailers. Forecasters are predicting less than average snowfalls in December for southern Ontario, Quebec and Atlantic Canada. "You won't get much snow in the city," says Greg Crosby, head of most of the weather. This Christmas, however, retailers will almost certainly be dealing with shoppers who feel more like Ebenezer Scrooge.

JOHN DALY

### UNEMPLOYMENT JUMPS

Signaling the presence of a recession, Canada's unemployment rate climbed sharply to 14.4 per cent, its highest level since July, 1987. Ottawa posted the biggest increase—its jobless rate climbed to 7.2 per cent from 6.4 per cent in September.

### LEADING THE PACK

For the fourth time since August, the Bank of Montreal became the first major bank to cut its prime lending rate. The bank reduced the rate for its best customers to 13.5 per cent, down from 13.75 per cent. Meanwhile, the Bank of Canada lowered its overnight rate to 12.48 per cent from 12.61 per cent.

### A NEW CAMPAIGN PRESIDENT

Stanley Hart, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's chief of staff from December, 1988, to August, 1990, has been appointed president of troubled real-estate developer Compco Corp. Hart, 52, a lawyer, was also deputy minister of finance from September, 1985, to April, 1986.

### MILLION-DOLLAR DEAL

Northern Telecom Ltd., the Mississauga-based telecommunications equipment multinational, made a \$3-billion bid to purchase the 73 per cent of British communications company STC PLC that it does not already own. If the purchase is completed, it would create a new leader in the largest telecommunications-equipment maker in the world, behind American Telephone and Telegraph Co. of New York City and Alcatel of Belgium.

### PLAYING BALL

The Quebec government has agreed to provide an \$18 million, low-interest loan to a consortium of Montreal-based investors who are trying to buy the Montreal Expos baseball team. But the investors, led by Expor president Claude Chabot, are still reportedly \$30 million short of the \$180-million asking price set by the current owners, led by Charles Bronfman. The loan agreement forbids the proposed buyers to move the team for at least 16 years unless the loan has been repaid.

### CHANGING APPROVES TACKLER

Ontario's new top government-approved British Gas PLC's \$1.1-billion takeover of Consumers' Gas Ltd., the largest natural-gas distributor in the province. The decision was a reversal of an earlier long-standing policy favouring public ownership of utilities. Ontario Premier Bob Rae said that the province lacked the funds to buy the company.

# Family food fights

Consumers and farmers clash over prices

A president of one of Canada's fastest-growing restaurant chains, William Dover has everything to gain from placing his customers there. But there is one problem that he is unable to correct. Several times recently, patrons complained after eating that chicken dishes at the Toronto-based chain's 70 Old Country and Red Lobster restaurants cost roughly 15 per cent more than at the company's U.S. locations, even after factoring in the exchange rate. Dover says that he would like to lower his prices—but cannot afford to because wholesale chicken prices in Canada range from 25 to 300 per cent higher than in the United States. Says Dover: "It's not so much as leveling playing fields, but we can be internationally competitive." Dover's problem is a familiar one to grocery shoppers who are tormented by local and provincial agricultural policies to pay sharply higher prices than American shoppers for such staples as milk, eggs and poultry. Now, those policies are coming under increasing attack from consumer advocates, food manufacturers and grocery retailers across the country.

The pressure for reform is a result in part of the current round of international trade talks under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, scheduled to end next month in Brussels. Among other things, the 94 GATT member countries are trying to reach an agreement to reduce subsidies and protectionist measures that distort prices and discourage trade in farm products. In line with that effort, Canada is asking other countries to drastically reduce their export subsidies on grains, a demand designed to benefit beleaguered western farmers. But other GATT members charge Canada with hypocrisy, demanding that Ottawa agree to liberalize its 25-year-old system of agricultural supply management. Protected by farmers but disliked by consumer groups, the system controls food prices for egg, milk and chicken producers while handing cheaper imports of farm products from the United States and other countries.

The process of change, however, is likely to be slow and painful. Agriculture Minister Donald Manion, a supporter of the international trade towards farm trade, called last year for the reduction of all farm

subsidies and the overhaul of Canada's supply management system, which is administered by marketing boards in every province. In Winnipeg this week, he is scheduled to meet with his provincial counterparts to continue discussions on the future of Canada's agricultural policy. Federal officials say that he is hoping to convince producers towards a more market-oriented approach to farm products—steps that would reduce the costs of only the most efficient farmers.

Canada's 182,000 dairy, egg and chicken farmers have reacted with alarm to the prospect of sweeping changes to the boards that protect them. They claim the efforts to liberalize the country's farm support programs would drive many small, family-owned farms out of business and leave the industry concentrated in the hands of large corporations.

To stress public support, the 34,000 milk producers represented by the Dairy Farmers of Canada recently spent \$400,000 on a television commercial that depicted the decay of a once-prosperous dairy farm. The ad, which aired on national television earlier this fall, warned that "dozens of dairy farms will die" if competition from the United States and Europe are allowed to increase prices in Canada. According to the group's executive director, Richard Doyle, more than 30,000 people who are the ad's designated a half-hour number to express their support for the farmers.

The farmers' campaign appears to have met with little success. Last month, Canadian negotiators at the GATT talks in Geneva tabled a series of proposals that left untouched the supply-management system,



## A TALE OF TWO SHOPPING CARTS

	Winnipeg	Kansas City, Mo.
<b>EGGS</b> (1 doz. large)	\$1.49	\$1.15
<b>MILK</b> (1 litre)	.97	.79
<b>CHICKEN</b> (1 lb. breast)	4.29	2.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	\$6.75	\$3.93

All figures in Canadian dollars. Prices based on average of three stores in each city on Nov. 8

which controls the price and supply of dairy products, eggs and poultry. Still, the proposals did include a 50-per-cent cut in farm subsidies that distort trade and the total elimination of farm export subsidies. In addition, Canada offered to double its dairy import ceiling, to five per cent from 2.5 per cent of domestic production. Manion was later termed the relaxation of the supply-management system "a small inconsistency" in Canada's bargaining position. Canada also imposes an import ceiling of 7.5 per cent of domestic production for chicken and about five per cent for eggs, but neither is at issue at the GATT negotiations.

Despite these concessions, the pressure for reform remains strong. U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills, for one, said that Canada's efforts "bely the fact with supply management, and I find that a great gap" in the

United States, milk producers are protected by a three-per-cent ceiling on imports of cheese and other manufactured milk products, but there are no restraints on chicken and egg imports. Canada's offer also left it out of step with the 13 other countries that belong to the so-called Cairns group, an organization of medium-sized countries that banded together in 1986 to press for free trade in agricultural products.

That group, which includes Australia, New Zealand and Brazil, is lobbying for a total elimination of domestic programs to control prices and supplies of farm products. Meanwhile, the prospect of changes to Canada's agricultural policies has exposed long-standing divisions in the farm community. Gene Bennett, a New Brunswick farmer, broke trade, because, they say, it would help to end a subsidy war between the United States and Europe that has resulted in overproduction and lower world prices for wheat and similar crops. Said Bennett: "I'm not sure that Canada's GATT negotiators are completely mistaken of the need to reach an agreement that substantially reduces the level of subsidies."

By contrast, dairy and chicken farmers have reacted to free from Manion's agricultural policies. Said James Hurdley, assistant executive director of the dairy farmers' lobby group: "If we open up our markets, we will destroy the Canadian dairy industry and the family farm."

The Canadian Chicken Marketing Agency—the organization for poultry flocks marketing boards—argues that its members must price stability to stay in business. Higher wages and benefits, more expensive machinery

## CAUGHT IN THE CROSSFIRE

Grain producer Barry Laycraft is clearly proud of the note that grants wheat to his 1,600-acre farm near Medicine, Alberta, southwest of Calgary. "It's a million-dollar view," he says, gazing towards the wheat-capped Rocky Mountains on the horizon. But Laycraft, 62, whose grandfather settled in the area in 1864, says he is uncertain how much longer his family will be able to enjoy the view. "With grain prices so low, I would be better off if I sold my land and got out," he says. Like many of Canada's 143,000 grain farmers, he is hoping that the current trade talks result in an agreement to cut agricultural subsidies—ending a costly U.S.-Europe subsidy war that has slashed the price of grain on world markets.

Laycraft enjoyed a good harvest of wheat, barley and clover this year. But, in the past 16 years, wheat prices have dropped by \$1.41 a bushel to \$3.67. The

problem, Canadian farmers say, is that European and American governments subsidize exports to producers there to produce more grain than is needed, leading to huge surpluses and lower export prices. Ottawa, too, shuffles out billions of dollars—\$2.2 billion in the past five years—to help grain farmers, but many producers still find it difficult to stay in business. Canadian income shows high increases, large debt levels and low world grain prices for the high subsidy levels. "We live on our equity," says Laycraft, whose wife, Gail, works as a registered nurse at nearby High River Hospital. "I don't own much. Anyone who does is in big trouble." He adds that a successful conclusion to the GATT talks would not solve his problems overnight—but at least it would give him a fighting chance.

JOHN BOWEN in Alberta



Laycraft fears of a subsidy war



He and Bert Smith. "It looks bleak"

## FEARING AN IMPORT FLOOD

Dairy farmers Bert and Anna Smol say that the worldwide campaign for more liberalized trade in farm products may prove too soon for them. 15-year-old son, Robert, lives carrying on the family business. Bert Smol's father began working the couple's 245-acre farm in Brandon, Ont., 80 km south of Ottawa, in 1940. The couple now have 20 Holstein cattle, producing 500 litres of milk a day. But they say that they worry that international programs for lower trade in agriculture will eventually force Canada to accept a flood of cheaper dairy products from the United States and Europe. "It looks to me and they're going to open the borders," says Bert Smol, 46, one of Canada's 158,000 dairy farmers. "I may be able to get along for a while, but Robert wants to farm, too, and it looks awful bleak for him."

For the moment, the Smols are protected by Canada's system of supply man-

agement—an elaborate network of subsidies, food prices and production quotas administered by government marketing boards. Because of it, consumers pay anywhere from 25 to 300 per cent more in Canada than in the United States for milk products. But Anna Smol, 42, notes that Canadian producers face higher labor, fuel and machinery costs than those in the United States. "I don't think we can compete with the States," she says. She recently fired off a half-dozen letters to Agriculture Minister Donald Manion, lawmakers and other parliamentarians, accusing them of failing to do enough to safeguard the interests of Canadian dairy farmers in the current session of world trade talks. She added: "We have to have some kind of restrictions at the border. The future of our industry is at stake."

GLEN ALLEN in Ontario

and long, cold winters make farming in Canada a more costly proposition than in the United States, says Cynthia Gernie, the agri-food's general manager. "It's not saying that the system is perfect," she added. "We need to be more responsive to the demands of consumers. But the system is basically sound."

The Consumers' Association of Canada, however, takes a distinctly different view. CAC president Marilyn Lester says that her group has been fighting the supply-management system for at least 20 years, and has stepped up its campaign as the gap between Canadian and world food prices has widened. She added that the association has received reports from teachers who are concerned because children are coming to school with expensive soft drinks in their lunch boxes instead of milk. Said Lester: "Marketing boards have not acted in the interests of Canadians. We pay double the average world price for milk. There should be an orderly dismantling of the supply-management system in Canada."

Food retailers and the food-processing industry also support agricultural reform. Rena Meyer, manager of business practices and government affairs for the Toronto-based Marsale Food Mart supermarket chain, said that Ontario's chicken prices are the highest in the country because of supply shortages. "My family was in farming, and I know what it is like to dump milk because of overproduction," Meyer says. "But there was insufficient supply of chickens in Ontario because of the supply management system. If we could get more product, we could put it out at lower prices."

Higher prices for Canadian milk, eggs and poultry are also taking a toll on retailers who operate near the U.S. border. Last spring, Helen Gervin, a lady doctor in suburban Vancouver, closed two grocery stores that he owned in Surrey and White Rock, B.C., both within a 20-minute drive of the border. Gervin



Poultry store in Toronto's Kensington Market: artificial shortages

says that, in the past two years, his stores experienced a 20-per-cent decline in business as more and more customers bought from U.S. suppliers. Added Gervin: "We don't go broke, but we were losing money. We felt terrible about it because there were 85 employees who lost their jobs."

For Ontario, the conflicting demands of farmers, consumers and food manufacturers have created a daunting political challenge. Although the Tories say they are committed to freer trade in agricultural products, they are equally anxious not to alienate the country's

supply-management farmers—especially Quebec's well-organized dairy lobby, which represents half of all Canadian dairy farmers. And two of CAAFT members fell to reach an agreement to reduce subsidies at their meeting in Brussels last month, the world trend towards freer trade appears irreversible. In time, these pressures will almost certainly force Canada to accelerate the pace of reform—regardless of the painful consequences for farmers.

PATRICIA CRUSHOLM with IAL GUINN in Vancouver and E. KAYE PULTON in Ottawa

## A BUMPER CROP OF GRIEVANCES

Almost from the moment the talks began in 1984, farm lobbies have been a source base of contention in the current round of negotiations aimed at liberalizing world trade. Now, some experts say that the dispute could lead to a collapse of the negotiations—creating a form of international trade war as the world's economy heads into a recession. Last week, a group representing 54 agricultural exporting nations including Canada, threatened to boycott the final session of the talks next month in Brussels unless the 12-nation European Community agrees to overhaul its farm support system. Last year, the EC's direct payments to farmers totaled \$35 billion. Facing pressure, the EC has patched together a compromise offer that would reduce farm subsidies by 30 per cent over

20 years. But even that may not be enough to save the talks from failure.

The outcome of the negotiations will directly affect consumers and farmers in Canada and around the world. As part of an effort to achieve trade in a wide range of sectors, the 60 countries belonging to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade are trying to reach an agreement to reduce those domestic subsidies and non-tariff barriers that hinder the free flow of agricultural products. But the talks have faltered because of fears that freer trade would destroy the livelihood of farmers in many parts of Europe, where farms tend to be smaller and less heavily mechanized than those in North America.

Last week's offer by the EC appeared to renege the immediate Giscard d'Audoubert by the so-called Cairns group, which includes Canada, Australia, Brazil and other major agricultural producers. But it fell far short of U.S. demands for a 75-per-cent cut in subsidies by 1995. Said Canadian Trade Minister John Crosbie, who wants further action: "That is by

no means a breakthrough." Referring to the prospect of a solution to the dispute, Crosbie added, "It was entirely grim before, and now it is simply grim."

But the discussions are complicated by the fact that the list itself is badly divided on the issue. Gervin has been among the staunchest defenders of existing farm subsidy programs, but might be willing to compromise further to avoid a trade war that would damage his status as the world's leading exporter of manufactured products. France, however, appears far less likely to waver. The country's main fear is that nation farmers form a powerful voting bloc that few politicians dare to offend. Moreover, many French experts argue that reducing subsidies would force farmers to adopt more production techniques. That, they say, would result in inferior food supplies—a sacrifice in a country that prides itself on the quality of its cuisine.

ROSS LAYER

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## BUSINESS WATCH



# The frightening vision of a leading poet

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

According to Keith Spear's first declaration as head of the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, he wants our destiny to resemble poets, not the professors and politicians who brought this country to the brink of disintegration. So it seems entirely appropriate to seek the wisdom of the man Northing Frye described as "the best English language poet in Canada," the literary giant who wrote this: close as anyone to being our poet laureate, Marianne Moore's living Layton.

The author of 54 books translated into seven languages, twice nominated to receive the Nobel Prize for literature, Layton has his dream recreation as "judicious," a word he uses to perpetuate his faith in "freedom." His 78 years have not slowed him down, excepting, instead, of being a fast-tracker trying to give every social disbeliever within range, he has become a cause, among his shrewd of his thoughts.

We met at the Marlene Bonanza, a downtown Montreal press post he describes as having "a warm, good, served as if the guests are royalty." The spaghetti Bolognaise term out to be delicious, but the conversation is wonderful.

"Civilization has never been a greater danger," Layton begins, characteristically denying the comforts of comfortableness. "That I don't regard that danger as a menace or a bad thing. On the contrary, with danger, you have the possibility of change and hope, in opportunity to do something different. Everything becomes responsible, because there's the possibility of doing things in a fundamentally new way. The other in the past we've chosen back and resisted the opportunity for genuine improvement."

Unlike most Canadians who tend to think everything says the Expo, laying stress to the latest anniversary on the politicians, Layton just thinks they're irrelevant. Since Marlene he has used as "basically a good guy, whose heart is in the right place, but who lacks the imagination for the job." He is convinced that Jean Chrétien

*'We feel afraid, forlorn and comfortless, seeking warmth, like lost sheep plunging back into a flock that follows no direction'*

lacks the character, stamina or personality required by the Canadian cause. "You've got to have not only the right man but the right moment," he explains. "This is the right moment, but we don't have the right man." Robert Bourassa he praises as a "cool-headed accountant who understands that the most important things in life are the people, as you can't go well with poor communication."

Only Pierre Trudeau dares the poet's words. "He thinks he's a messiah," Layton charges, "but a certified visionary must understand the demands his working with, and Trudeau ignores the French-Canadian fact. He has always struck me as being very opinionated, highly dogmatic and, above all, arrogant. His pit-bull attitudes are based on his inability to listen; he feels so superior to everybody, because of his training as a Jesuit and as an Anglo. In short, his class and his education intrude against him."

Pretty because he has travelled and used as widely, Layton views Canada's current crisis from a world perspective. "I see the quest for independence—whether it's in Eastern Europe or in Quebec—springing out of the situation of the individual from a world he never made. I see modern man as being abandoned from God, from

nature and, finally, in this last stage, from himself. We feel afraid, forlorn and comfortless, seeking a touch of warmth, like lost sheep plunging back into a flock that follows no direction."

Such an apocalyptic view seems hard to justify, but Layton is adamant in his prognosis. "I can't help feeling," he gloomily predicts, "that we're now in a situation analogous to the fourth or fifth centuries, during the fall of the Roman Empire, when the barbarian hordes were looking on the ruins. These barbarians were entered. Ours are internal in the sense that they're our own citizens who have taken of the constraints of civilization. It's as true of the arts. Will we ever see another Michelangelo, Shakespeare, Rembrandt, or T.S. Eliot? Perhaps not. This kind of greatness is gone forever, destroyed by technology and the forms of so-called education. If you want great poetry today, you don't go to the poets who are all busy writing their sweet little lyrics, God bless them. If you want great poetry today, you must go to film and music."

Curiously, Layton's pessimism does not include the future of Quebec, because its deviant society is firmly rooted in a distinct history, religion, language, literature and memory. That's where the gravest and the difficulties come in, he believes, because English Canada lacks such unifying factors. This doesn't only mean English Canada will have a tough time being the determined collective will of French Canada, but that those of us outside Quebec are much more open to the distinctive forces of the modern world. "Influenced by the Angles, the French-Canadian pull it," he explains, "because they feel they're preventing something valuable against the rest of modernization and homogenization. English-Canadians don't have much intellectual baggage whatsoever, none at all, really. So they have very little to protect and not much will to fight back."

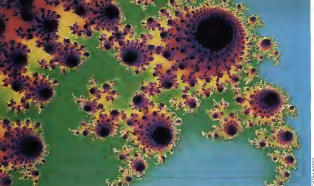
The third glass of wine has grown warm between us, and the visitors, who look like well-used (and fed) messengers with nowhere to go, are slowly merging with Layton, their own world having so recently disappeared. But the poet ends the interview on an up note.

"I have two daughters," he says. "My nine-year-old daughter, the other is two. I'm a great believer in the power of love. I've been very happy, which gave me the energy and optimism of a warrior, and made my mother leave me. I was the only one in her brood of seven who attended high school because our family couldn't afford the fees. She felt that if I remained to be the Museum, I should know the English language, history and so on. I've been a great believer in chance ever since."

Layton insists that Canada may be salvaged by just such a chance.

"I can't resist. Surely he is a positive. Marlene can save the country. His eyes look sad, up to his nose, whether he's wearing him. 'I don't think you can save it,' he says, sadly adding, 'and I don't think I can save it.'"

Then he remembers. "I shouldn't be overcome by such modesty of all a writer," he says. "Maybe after I've had another drink."



## SCIENCE

# The roots of chaos

*An exciting theory stirs the scientific world*

According to modern science, the universe is ruled by fundamental laws, which are supposed to operate in an orderly way. But scientists also know that the consequences of these laws can be complex and often unpredictable. A sudden summer storm breaks out in the midst of calm weather. A normally functioning heart experiences a dangerous spasm. The stock market unexpectedly plunges during a period of economic tranquility. The common denominator in all of these developments is an inherent turbulence in a system. In recent years, a growing number of scientists have become fascinated by unpredictable events. Their name for the phenomenon is chaos, and they claim that chaos is probably intrinsic to most systems in the universe. Now, disciples of chaos theory are searching for ways to apply mathematical formulas that could enable them to predict chaotic events. If they succeed, the added knowledge could revolutionize scientists' understanding of how the human body and other systems in the cosmos work.

Since scientists formulated chaos theory two decades ago, researchers in a wide variety of



Dusterbridge: a stream of uncertainty

*Practical: computer generations bring chaos closer to the common person*

disciplines have begun to use it as a tool for improving their understanding of subjects as widely separated as schizophrenia and population growth. John Dusterbridge, an associate professor of physiology at Montreal's McGill University, says that by using the approach he can produce computer simulations of the way systems in the human body function. Meteorologists say that it is chaos that makes completely accurate weather forecasting impossible. But they also contend that by understanding the theory, they can gain a better knowledge of long-term weather patterns. For their part, accountants are using chaos models to understand why unpredictable events so often upset business cycles. Says Peter Wilson, a professor of physics at Carleton University in Ottawa: "We are realizing that chaos is the norm and not the exception in the universe."

Indeed, proponents of the theory say that its potential for helping in the solution of scientific mysteries may be almost limitless. Some medical researchers now claim that the process by which AIDS undermines the human immune system is chaotic rather than predictable, and they add that that understanding may help them to find a cure for the disease. Eventually says John Hubbard, a professor of mathematics at Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., applications from the chaos model may even enable scientists to understand how the genetic material and developmental and progress growth in the human body. Stud Dusterbridge: "It's very exciting and perplexing. We are now forced to reexamine all of the things we thought were settled or discussed as unimportant."

The approach challenges a basic assumption



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that has served as one foundation of Western science since Isaac Newton formalized his laws of motion during the 17th century. That is the conviction that nature operates in a predictable, cause-and-effect manner. On the basis of that world view, many scientists have assumed that if they know about all of the major factors involved in an event, they could precisely forecast the outcome. Indeed, Newtonian laws suggest that if scientists knew every factor, they could ultimately predict everything in the universe. But the development of computers enabled early chaos theorists to see that such an assumption was wrong.

Edward Lorenz, a meteorologist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge in the early 1960s, used a computer to try to understand weather systems. By feeding information on temperatures, wind velocity and other data into the computer, Lorenz tried

later to discover a set of formulas that seemed to demonstrate that all complex systems break down into chaos at the same points along a transition scale. Using so-called populations of data as models for all complex systems, Poincaré discovered that, even in chaotic systems, a short-lived regularity develops around a point called an "attractor."

Then, as change continues within the model, the attractor splits in two, creating more change within the system. Poincaré then discovered a series of ratios, now known as "Poincaré's numbers," that enabled him to calculate the point at which the attractor would break. Since then, theorists have discovered that five golden numbers can be used as a key to understanding systems as disparate as electrical circuitry and business cycles.

Chaos theory has even given birth to its own truly beautiful art form, in which both scientists and artists use computer graphics to

"fractals bring chaos closer to the common person."

Now, fractal-based images are becoming a popular art form. Several computer software firms have translated the Mandelbrot Set into programs that shuttlers and computer artists can manipulate on their own screens. See Leslie Tins, a Toronto-based designer who created the Mandelbrot program for Apple Computer Inc. "It's a jumping-off point for inspiration and a great way to write time," he added. "We reject beginning to explore the fractals and shapes that fractals will enable us to see." Another admirer of fractals is Toronto computer graphic artist Christine Partridge, who says that "some images really evoke spooky ideas of magic."

Still, some scientists dispute the contention that chaos theory represents a dramatically new way of looking at scientific issues. They say that turbulence has always been a well-known part of the natural order. While some admit that the chaos model is significant, they say that its impact can easily be exaggerated. Saul Levin Glass, a professor of psychology at McGill. "It seems we can predict when some chaotic reactions should occur. The theory certainly helps, but it is just one step towards interpreting situations." For his part, Stephen Smale, a University of Toronto physics professor who is applying chaos theory in his work, said that the French mathematician Jean Leon Poincaré first pointed to some of the principal elements of chaos theory over a period of several years around the turn of the century. At that time, he claimed that extremely energetic, like the death of a planet in a remote galaxy, could lead to enormous changes elsewhere in the universe. As well, Poincaré was aware that chaotic patterns contained within persons. Said Smale: "Somewhere, we discover something that was known to other people 100 years ago. The difference is that we are better able to explain it."

But proponents of chaos theory insist that it will eventually lead to a broadly new view of the universe. In the fields of theology and moral philosophy, some experts argue that chaos theory offers an answer to the debate over how free will can exist in a deterministic universe—a contention that has perplexed theologians for thousands of years. As well, some scientists and artists say that by making a place for unpredictability in natural law, chaos theory can have a liberating effect on human thought. Said Caroline's Watson: "It's one of those things that will slowly drip into the subconscious and alter the way we think." Added William Sauterwey, a Connecticut-based artist who is illustrating a series of comic books with themes inspired by chaos theory: "There's a poetry to the belief that any slight movement can shake up the whole structure." Clearly, by challenging so many long-held assumptions, the theory has already introduced an element of chaos into scientific thought.

DAVID BRADY

## LAW

## Upstairs, downstairs

A legal dispute over the 'working class'

For decades, social commentators and cartoonists alike have depicted England as a land in which a growing economic and cultural gulf separates the middle and upper classes from a plucky but therefore working class. Now, some experts contend that profound sociological and economic changes accelerated by 11 years of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's brand of conservatism have transformed England into a single society, in which social divisions are based largely on money. Indeed, some experts say that the transformation has almost made the class-based, working-class figure—represented by the cartoonist character Arty Capp—obsolete. The issue is of considerably more than academic interest. As the result of a dispute involving two of the country's richest citizens over what kind of people are entitled to live in a group of dilapidated central London apartment buildings, England's high court will be asked to rule next week on the question of



Lady Porter: no more 'class meaning'

whether or not she sits in a working class. The case involves the Duke of Westminster, England's richest man, and Lady Porter, leader of the municipal council in the City of Westminster, a London borough. The duke insists that there is still a working class, while Lady Porter believes in a supermiddle-class fortunate class that is no longer exists. The dispute centers on 532 apartments in central London that were built during the 1930s. In 1937, the duke's uncle, who owned the apartments, leased them to Westminster council for 999 years to be used as subsidized low-income housing units. Now, in line with the Thatcher government's policy of selling publicly owned housing to first-time home buyers, the council wants to sell some of the apartments.

But the general idea, whose full title is Gerald Cavendish Grosvenor, Marquis of Westminster, Earl Grosvenor, Viscount Belgrave, Baron Grosvenor, opposes the plan. The duke insists by a clause in the original lease that stipulates that the apartments would be kept "for the working classes, and for no other purposes." Now, the Westminster city council is going to court as an effort to have the clause removed. Said a spokesman for the duke: "The clause was deliberately inserted at the time the lease was given, and he feels it should be protected. We don't want to encourage rumors. The problem in central London is a shortage of rental accommodation for the 'working class.'" Responded a spokesman for Lady Porter: "We want to give people the opportunity to buy. The expression 'working



Partridge: applying mathematical formulas could help scientists predict chaotic events

to find ways of predicting long-range weather patterns. Then, he made a discovery, and important, discovery. He found that a tiny variation in the data would not, as scientists had always believed, produce a small difference in the final result; it produced a radically different weather pattern. Lorenz called that the butterfly effect, because, like the extreme, a butterfly flapping its wings in China could ultimately affect the weather across North America. James Gleick, in an essay on even writing, stated in his 1987 book, *Chaos*, that, in a complex system, "errors and uncertainties multiply, cascading, growing through a chain of turbulent functions."

That stream of uncertainty is what scientists now call chaos. But at the root of their theory is a conviction, based on computer calculations, that there is a kind of order within disorder. One of the most important findings is that one emerged in 1973, when Mitchell J. Feigenbaum, a physicist working at the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico, used a hand calculator

to create symbolic representations of chaos. The often-breath-taking images are based on shapes called "fractals"—irregular, often multidimensional patterns that resemble shapes occurring in nature. The architect of the new generation was Benoit Mandelbrot, a mathematician who coined the word "fractal" while he was working at the Thomas J. Watson Research Center in Yorktown Heights, N.Y., during the mid-1970s.

In the system that Mandelbrot developed, fractals are the computer-generated shapes that can be created from a set of simple equations that represent the chaotic patterns or randomness in nature. One chaotic model is known as the Mandelbrot Set. It resembles an organic, self-similar fractal structure. When a computer operator enlarges details of the picture, the resulting image reveals its infinite array of similar patterns. Said Mandelbrot to *Nature*'s last week: "It makes us understand that marvelous complexity can emerge from such simple math." He added

CHRISTINE PARTRIDGE

PAT JACKSON



Nothing Else

chair" has no clear meaning to today's society."

At the heart of the dispute lie the social changes that have taken place since the end of the Second World War, when demographics indicated that as many as 33 million people out of England's total population of 45 million could be classified as working-class. Traditionally, the term "working class" has referred to a type of life based on manual labor, a strong sense of class solidarity and support for labor union and the socialist Labour Party. The debate over the future of the working class has intensified as the decline of older industries, including mining, shipbuilding and manufacturing, led to blue-collar jobs being replaced by white-collar ones.

According to sociologist Michael O'Donnell, the expanding service sector, which now employs 60 per cent of Britain's population, has increasingly propelled people of working-class origin into the ranks of the middle class. While the number of manual workers has shrunk, the decline of England's heavy industries, located in the inner cities, coupled with urban renewal programs and migration patterns, has deepened bitterly concentrated working-class communities. Now, says O'Donnell, "a smaller working class is reactively more widely dispersed."

Still, some Britons say that the dispute in Westminster has more to do with upper-class attitudes than with the question of whether or not there is still a working class. Some analysts note that the 28-year-old child represents the traditional Conservative aristocratic tradition of carrying out the will of the lower orders, while Lady Porter embodies a political philosophy that stresses the virtues of self-help and self-improvement, rather than reliance on a welfare system (that Thatcher has dismissed as the "nanny state").

As Britons debated the issue, the child found widely allies in a number of Labour Party members of Parliament, who normally would argue for the abolition of titles and hereditary wealth. Declared Labour MP Dennis Skinner, a former coal miner from northern England: "There is still a working class. It's exploited every day by people with fancy names such as 'entrepreneurs.'" Said Joseph Aislinn, another Labour MP with a working-class background: "The Lady Porters will always need the working class to clean up after them."

But that level of support was disputed by some upper-class observers, including Lord Trevor, a director of *Baker's* Premier, which publishes the definitive guide to English's titled families. Trevor said that "as 1803, there was very much a class-gap mentality. Today, you are defined more by your job or your interests than by your birth." Meanwhile, the legal procedure appeared to favor Lady Porter's side in the case before the high court. In a similar case that involved London rental units owned by the Guinness Trust, the high court ruled in 1985 that even then the newly wealthy "working class" had no precise meaning. Whether the court still holds that view is clearly an issue of sliding tradition in the English.

IAN MATTHEW in London

## HEALTH

# A profound choice

Uniting against a proposed abortion law

Across Canada, an unusual phenomenon is taking place. Groups with barely opposing views on an emotional and divisive issue are joining forces in the same cause. Ontario's proposed anti-abortion law, Bill C-43, which is awaiting Senate approval and could become law by early next year, would make abortions illegal except when carried out by a qualified physician to protect the mother's health. Pro-

opponents of the proposed law (Oct. 24, *Provision*) Bob Rae told reporters that the bill was "a bad law" because it would make abortions considerably more difficult to obtain. Earlier this month, Anne Swenick, minister for women's issues in Rae's government, and provincial health Minister Evelyn Gagnon met federal Justice Minister Kim Campbell in Ottawa to try to persuade her to drop the bill. "There's no issue in the Criminal Code for abortion," Swenick told *Maclean's*. "The bill must be withdrawn."

The assault on the bill has enlisted a new chapter in a debate that has raged since the Supreme Court of Canada struck down the existing, 18-year-old abortion law in January, 1988. Under that law, abortions were illegal except when consultations of doctors at hospitals agreed that an abortion was necessary to protect a pregnant woman's health. But in some parts of the country, women were unable to obtain abortions because hospitals did not have abortion committees. In striking down the law, the Supreme Court ruled that it violated the constitutional right of women to security of the person and was an infringement of women's rights. The decision related anti-abortion activists, who demanded that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government enact new legislation.

Ottawa responded with Bill C-43, which the Commons passed by a vote of 143 to 130 in May. Since then, the bill has been stalled in the Senate, where the battle over the controversial Goods and Services Tax has created a legislative backlog. That delay has given both sides a renewed opportunity to sharpen their attacks. Betty Gavett, president of Vancouver Right to Life, said that the bill is "a law to legalize abortion in this country." Ann Nassi, administrator of The Henry Morgenthau's Clinic in Winnipeg, says that Bill C-43 violates the spirit of the Supreme Court's 1988 ruling because it is a return to restricting a woman's autonomy. Declared Nassi: "This is a health decision and does not belong in the Criminal Code."

Other critics say that it would create hazards

for both women and doctors. Under the terms of the bill, both a woman who has an abortion and the doctor who performs it may face a prison sentence of up to two years if there is insufficient evidence that continuation of the pregnancy would have jeopardized the woman's physical, mental or emotional health. Critics also contend that because the bill does not define the phrase "emotional health," doctors could be liable to prosecution if they performed abortions using that justification. "Nobody really wants to take the lead of responsibility Bill C-43 puts on doctors," said Julia Trigg, a counsellor at Toronto's Humane Fetus Clinic, a treatment and referral centre for socially transcurred diseases and family planning. "This puts the entire decision-making power in these hands, and many recognize it's not their decision to make. So they're backing off."

According to the 48 000-member Canadian Medical Association (CMA) in Ottawa, at least 50 doctors across the country have stopped performing the procedure since May. In Ontario, doctors at Hamilton and South St. Mary have shunned abortions and, in Calgary, two doctors who usually performed them at Peter Lougheed Hospital resigned in June, citing Bill C-43. Hospital officials permitted the four physicians to stay in their jobs, but the doctors vowed to resign if the bill becomes law.

In Montreal, Winnipeg gynecologist Dr.



Ottawa anti-abortion rally. "Who wants the bill?"

Richard Brookhuyt estimates that about half of the 34 to 38 doctors in the province who perform abortions will stop, and women will find it increasingly difficult to obtain the operation. Brookhuyt said that, in some cases, a woman could wait for up to six weeks to have an abortion. By that time, it is often too late because many hospitals and doctors will not perform the operation after the 10th week of pregnancy. Women, he said, will become increasingly desperate, and "people are going to die."

According to Douglas Greville, senior-medicine director of the CMA and a CMA representative at the Senate standing committee on justice issues, more physicians will stop performing abortions if the law passes, and many others will do the same if a doctor is charged. Greville said that physicians are not only concerned about the possibility of being convicted and imprisoned for performing illegal abortions. Many also say they are afraid that charges will be laid as the result of complaints by members of anti-abortion groups.

But few anti-abortion activists support Bill C-43. Hagler's Haploids calls the proposed legislation a "pro-abortion bill," adding that it is "incredibly vague" and "irrevocable." Representatives of her group appeared before a Commons committee in February to

voice their concerns about the bill. Hagler adds that she is frustrated by how the Canadian government is handling the controversy. "We are being mislead and we're left at the will and the power of a handful of people who think they know what's best."

Like Hagler, James Hagler, national president of Toronto-based Campaign Life, said that Bill C-43 provides no protection for the unborn child. "It states," he said, "The whole thing is really a sham. Unless there is recognition that it's a human being, we're going nowhere." But

Roughs and others within the anti-abortion movement say that the fact that some doctors have already stopped performing abortions is a disaster, but, unexpected, result of the proposed legislation. Vancouver's Gertsa said that some doctors were using the bill as a way to stop performing abortions "because many feel compelled to do it and don't have the guts to stand up and say it's wrong to kill people."

Other activists are taking a different route in their fight against abortion. Beverly Daw founded the Toronto-based Canadian Rights Coalition last February to help women who have had unhappy experiences with an abortion to sue their doctors for malpractice. "Women, in my opinion, aren't the criminals," said Daw. "Doctors are the criminals." Daw added that she does not think Bill C-43 goes far enough to protect the unborn that she said, "the good thing is that doctors stand alone now, and that will definitely work in women's favor."

That is precisely what some physicians say without them. Dr. Diane Byrnes, an obstetrician and professor at Western's College Hospital in Toronto, told Maclean's that abortion is "already a difficult area to work in. Having struggled with the issue of abortion to be banned in our name may as well as to be the last straw by many physicians."

But some legal experts caution that Bill C-43 violates the same constitutional principles as the law that the Supreme Court struck down in 1988. Earlier this year, the 725-member, Toronto-based Canadian Criminal Lawyers' Association issued a statement to MPs outlining its opposition to the bill. The statement said that Bill C-43 "has the very real potential to lead to the harassment of women, doctors and health-care workers" by surveillance, accusations, and that the "chilling effect" on doctors would limit access to the operation. Ultimately, and the association said that the "elemental liberties would lead to a violation of the right of women to security of the person guaranteed under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms."

So far, Justice Minister Campbell has attempted to reassure physicians by promising that physicians will not be retroactively prosecuted under the new law. But some doctors, including Bordenitz, say that Campbell's assurances are not convincing. "Her telling us that we don't have to worry isn't good enough," he said. "No doctor wants to go to jail." Bordenitz said that he and other doctors who he said would be the bill passed, added that few doctors like performing abortions. Declared Bordenitz: "If you tell this law is going to hurt you, why go through the trauma and embarrassment that could come with this court case? I may not want to be a scapegoat for the government!" With both sides in the debate ranged against Ottawa's proposed law, and concerns mounting among the anti-abortion doctors, Bill C-43 is clearly not to be the compromise for which the Conservative government had hoped.

NORA UNDERWOOD is in  
SANDRA PORTER is in  
RAELEN BERNANMAN is in  
ANDY KERR is in



Willie Perle at a Fredericton recycling centre: saving energy and resources

## ENVIRONMENT

# Reducing the blues

An innovative act penalizes recyclers

Although blue bins have made the recycling of cans, bottles and newspapers popular in scores of Canadian municipalities, some environmentalists argue that the practice is perpetuating some wasteful habits. As a result, in New Brunswick last week, Premier Frank McKenna's Liberal government introduced a tough new law that would be the first time in Canada, penalize consumers who prefer to buy recyclable drink containers rather than reusable glass containers. While environmentalists praised the proposal, some consumer advocates complained that it would unfairly hurt their businesses. At the heart of the proposed act is a mandatory right-deposit system that will apply to all kinds of containers for soft drinks, fruit juice, beer, wine and liquor.

Consumers who buy drinks in refillable glass bottles will get a full refund on the deposit they pay—the amount of the deposit will be set later, when the bill is law. Under the bill, drinks that are not sold in glass bottles will be in recyclable containers—cans, plastic bottles or cartons. But people who buy drinks in recyclable containers will get only half the deposit back when they return containers to the 80 government redemptor centres scattered around the province. The rest will go to a fund to promote anti-litter campaigns.

The proposed law meets many of the objectives of environmentalists. Currently, refillable glass bottles, which can be reused between 25

and 30 times, account for fewer than 40 per cent of the 375 million drink containers used in the province each year. Environmentalists say that recyclable containers still promote waste because of the energy and resources that go into recycling them. Said Parker Gray, a senior policy advisor with the New Brunswick government department: "We don't want people to feel good about putting a lot in a recycling bin when they should be reusing waste."

But officials of firms that distribute recyclable containers said that the bill would be financially costly for them. The bill, which is expected to become law next spring, would require distributors to sell only government-approved containers and ensure that recyclable material is actually recycled.

However, the bill may not survive in its present form. Provincial officials said that the proposed law could be watered down after a committee of the legislature meets on a weekend public hearing that are scheduled to begin next month. For that gap, environmentalists and the bill was an important step in the right direction. Said David Coon, director of the Conservation Council of New Brunswick: "Everyone agrees that refillable containers are a better environmental choice." If so, New Brunswick could become a model for the rest of Canada in the battle to curb the wasteful use of energy and resources.

DIANE BRADY



May 28, 1954

Camp's Paul Antonio, Jamaica

Says: I am completely, totally misinformed by this place, these people. Especially the aura of mystery that surrounds the man and I ask about the legend of Tia Maria.

She's not, more to grandfather's favorite liqueur than just legendary taste. I'm convinced. And I intend to find out what it is.

Antonio

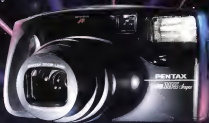
# Tia Maria

The recent discovery of a lost journal sheds new light on the 300 year-old legend of Tia Maria liqueur. It reveals how, in the early 1600s, an obscure young woman named Cynthia Andrews went on a journey to search for the legend of Tia Maria she'd heard her grandfather describe.

We share excerpts of her journal and letters with you here and invite you to taste the legendary Tia Maria. Smooth. Delicate. Flavourful. Strength or more so.



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## DEVELOPMENT

# Making aid work

*Small projects are transforming poor lands*

**T**he murky liquid costs only a few cents a serving to make, but it is transforming the lives of hungry Third World citizens. Experts in overseas aid agencies say that the mixture of corn or other flour, boiled water and a pinch of salt serves an estimated 600,000 children from death by dehydration and related diseases each year. First developed as a poverty-stricken Bangladesh rice use and rehydration solution, the mixture is called, it being spread to other Third World countries with help from develop-

ment aid agencies with photographs, movies and displays that show how small-scale aid projects can transform local economies. Waters to the solution can operate a pest-killing machine developed in Thailand with the help of Canadian aid money. Another exhibit shows how Pakistani villagers use solar farm to dry fruit in a system developed with foreign aid. Some visitors said that they were thoroughly impressed by the new direction in foreign aid. "This is a lot better than the kind of help I thought we gave," said Gerry Marshall, a

agency spokesman in developing countries set up large, creative projects to provide jobs for homeless children. He added, "We have to completely rethink foreign aid to encourage self-sufficiency everywhere we go."

For his part, Lathrop said that the success of small-scale projects in Third World countries provides "concrete examples of the fact that a little help goes a long way." The foundation is an affiliate of the Government of the Aga Khan Foundation, which is headed by the spiritual leader of the 12-million-member Ismaili branch of the Muslim religion.

Lathrop and three major Canadian aid agencies, including Ottawa's Canadian International Development Agency, have set up a new government program to the privately funded Toronto agency, the Canadian Foundation, are increasingly providing local arrangements to foster small-scale cottage industries and entrepreneurship and in developing nations. Maria Chavira, president of the Canadian Foundation, which manages for small-scale loans to entrepreneurs in Canadian native communities and in those developing nations, said that requests include help with buying a new sewing machine for clothes-makers in Colombia or purchasing seeds for a small-scale farming project in Peru. "These are the people with big goals but zero access to credit," said Cornell.

With loans that average \$150, said Cornell, Third World entrepreneurs, many of them women, are able to buy equipment and raw materials or rent retail space to enter their businesses. Some sell vegetables, the local economy Cornell said that many of the basic principles followed by Cornell and other overseas development agencies were developed by Muhammad Yunus, a Bangladeshi economist who, in 1983, founded the Grameen Bank, which specializes in making small loans to support so-called micro-economic development.

The trend towards small-scale aid developments has gathered momentum at a time when domestic budget constraints have led to a reduction in Canada's foreign aid program. In the 1988-1990 fiscal year, Ottawa spent \$2.7 billion on foreign aid or 0.44 per cent of the Canadian gross national product—down \$200 million from the previous year. Still, Lathrop said that the purpose of the exhibition is to emphasize that small amounts of money can achieve significant results overseas. Added Lathrop, "We want every Canadian to see that, with their help, people are taking charge of their own destiny." Clearly, while the costs are small, the results may be the seeds of greater achievements in the future.

DAVID BRADY



**CIDA project in Cameroon: loan arrangements help to foster small-scale cottage industries**

ment agencies in Canada and other Western nations. The simple solution is the centerpiece of an exhibition that opened in Toronto Sept. 20. Sponsored by the Aga Khan Foundation Canada, a Toronto-based, nonprofit organization that spent \$3 million on aid projects in Africa and Asia last year, the exhibition depicts

Agencies tried to win relatively expensive projects aimed at improving life at the local level in developing nations have begun to replace costly megaprojects. Still, Nancy Lathrop, Canadian director of the Aga Khan Foundation Canada, said that the success of the exhibition shows that many international aid agencies are beginning to realize that large-scale aid projects, including hydroelectric dams and mechanized agricultural projects, often ignore local cultural values.

"We're still locked into the 19th-century concept of handouts," said Peter Dalglish, executive director of the Toronto-based organization Street Kids International, which helps develop-

ment aid agencies in Canada and other Western nations. The exhibition will return to Toronto until Jan. 6, then travel to Hall 500, where it will open at the Canadian Museum of Civilization on Feb. 20. Starting at April, the show will travel on to four other Canadian cities, including Montreal and Vancouver.

Officials of the Aga Khan Foundation Canada said that the exhibition shows that many international aid agencies are beginning to realize that large-scale aid projects, including hydroelectric dams and mechanized agricultural projects, often ignore local cultural values. "We're still locked into the 19th-century concept of handouts," said Peter Dalglish, executive director of the Toronto-based organization Street Kids International, which helps develop-

# The Noriega tapes

The case against him could be in danger

A defendant testified over Panama City on Jan. 4, 1996: the country's dictator, Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, surrendered to the U.S. troops who had rounded Panama the month before. The scene that followed was unprecedented in legal history: William Matus, U.S. drug enforcement officers had released the fallen dictator of his constitutional rights and escorted him to the cargo hold of a C-130 transport on their flight to Miami where he lived 12 drug trafficking charges. But even as the door swung shut on Noriega's prison cell, involving legal issues emerged—on whether the United States could lead the legal right to arrest him.

Last week, Noriega's legal defense, which has already been delayed by procedural disputes, was started again when tape recordings of private conversations between Noriega and his supporters were played on television by the Cable News Network. Noriega's chief lawyer, Paul Rubio, said that the recordings violated Noriega's right to a fair trial and that, as a result, all charges against his client should be dropped. But Rubio: "It appears that the government will cling to its depth to win the case."

The broadcasts of the Noriega tapes on Atlanta-based CNN won the latest round in the 10-month effort to bring Noriega to trial. From the outset, some American legal experts have argued that Noriega's arrest was unconstitutional. They maintain that finding a direct legal precedent to justify his arrest would require going back 2,000 years to the ancient Romans, who took conquered foreign leaders to Rome on chains. Rubio has also had to file the U.S. government to allow Noriega to finance his defense by giving him access to his foreign bank accounts, which were frozen immediately following his arrest. As well, to help the government of Panama deal 16 criminal charges, including murder and torture, against the generalist, in October, it launched a \$7.5 billion civil suit alleging racketeering by Noriega.

But leading lawyers said that CNN's decision to broadcast Noriega's private conversations and the fact that U.S. officials may have recorded Noriega's conversations with his attorneys, could severely damage the U.S. government's case. Indeed, Judge William Howell, of the Federal District Court of Miami, finds that Noriega's right to a fair trial has been violated. He could discuss all charges against him.

Soon after Noriega's arrival in the Metropolitan Correctional Center, a maximum-security prison 38 km southwest of Miami, officials placed him in a special cell that includes an office with two desks, a paper shredder, a copying machine and a desk to enable defense lawyers to work on the case with their client.

For their part, U.S. justice department officials denied that Noriega's conversations should be recorded. They said that plant calls to lawyers may be recorded if a suspect fails to inform his guards that he is in legal business and specifically asks that a not be monitored. Even so, many leading lawyers argued that because the relationship between a lawyer and his client is usually privileged, the recordings could be considered a gross violation of Noriega's constitutional right to a fair trial.

At a hearing into the granting of an injunction to block any further use of broadcasts of the tapes, Judge Howell said it was becoming "more and more difficult" to mount Noriega's fair trial. He also acknowledged that he was caught between two fundamental, and often competing, U.S. constitutional rights: the right to fair trial and freedom of the press.

In an attempt to stem the damage to Noriega's case, and possibly mitigate the trial, Howell granted the injunction against CNN. But this president Thomas Jefferson said that the injunction was unconstitutional, and the network continued to broadcast the tapes while it appealed Howell's decision. Although lawyers point out that U.S. courts have traditionally sided with the media on challenges to their right to report a story, Howell could still dismiss the charges against Noriega on the grounds that by censoring recorded conversations, the government, and not CNN, had eroded his right to a fair trial.

Indeed, a suspect's right to consult his lawyer without government interference is guaranteed in the Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. But until the full contents of the tapes have been heard, many lawyers say that there is no way to determine if the case against Noriega violates the constitution. Even if the charges against him are dropped, the general will face serious charges in Panama—a country where the expelled former dictator's enemies now rule and he has little public sympathy.

Prison officials say they told Noriega on his arrest that any phone calls he made would automatically be recorded by the prison's automated eavesdropping system. But prison officials say that to protect a suspect's right to prepare a defense in confidentiality, phone calls

between a prisoner and his lawyer are usually not recorded. Noriega, according to the contents of the CNN tapes, made a number of sensitive calls—including none to Panama. On one of the tapes, the general is quoted as saying, "We are going to return the ball to the court of the United States on one legal strategy."

Although CNN spokesmen said that the network had access tapes in its possession, it did not broadcast any content relating to Noriega and his lawyers. But CNN did broadcast pictures of Rubio listening to one of the tapes. And Rubio later told reporters that the tape revealed a discussion of legal strategy in which he and the general discussed witnesses and other matters. Asked Rubio: "We don't know how much of our trial strategy the government knows. Is there a workshop in my office or no longer?"

For their part, U.S. justice department officials denied that Noriega's conversations should be recorded. They said that plant calls to lawyers may be recorded if a suspect fails to inform his guards that he is in legal business and specifically asks that a not be monitored. Even so, many leading lawyers argued that because the relationship between a lawyer and his client is usually privileged, the recordings could be considered a gross violation of Noriega's constitutional right to a fair trial. At a hearing into the granting of an injunction to block any further use of broadcasts of the tapes, Judge Howell said it was becoming "more and more difficult" to mount Noriega's fair trial. He also acknowledged that he was caught between two fundamental, and often competing, U.S. constitutional rights: the right to fair trial and freedom of the press.

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TOM FENNELLS, staff correspondent, reports

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## PEOPLE

### SOCIAL DANCING

In January, choreographer Robert Devo's dance company will be the first contemporary Canadian group to perform at New York City's respected City Center. The company will perform *Incapable*, a work that Devo describes as a "social commentary." And this week in Toronto, the company will introduce its new work, *Jesus*, which will tour North America. Said Devo, 37: "Both countries' audiences respond well—but the City Center will be a challenge."



Stewart: very proud to lose it

### Good girls do

Canadian actress Catherine Mary Stewart says that she is a strong opponent as a good girl who breaks out at the moment. In *Coffy*, a woman that she just finished shooting in Vancouver, Stewart plays a troubled blues wife who eventually loses her husband. And of her role as the surreal dystopian soap opera *The Days of Our Lives*, she says: "I was so good, I was supposed to be 22 and a virgin and still being at home." But, added Stewart, 36, who played *Kyle* Brady from 1983 until 1993: "The very good to say that I lost my virginity at that show."

### GOT THE BEAT, NOT THE MEAT

The bubbly Go-Go's, who brought the world such hits as the 1985 hit *Our Lives Are Ending*, have reunited. And now, the five young women have a weightier message. Lead singer Belinda Carlisle, 32, also a pro-animal activist, said, "Wearing fur is an Eighties thing, fighting fur is a Nineties thing." Carlisle and fellow Go-Go's Jane Wiedlin, Charlene Colby, Gise Schick and Karly Valentine started a North American tour last week performing their old hits. It will be an Eighties sort of thing.



The Go-Go's together and forever

### A taste for the offbeat

The French, says Canadian director David Cronenberg, have always appreciated unusual stories. "That's why," he said, "they don't have trouble with the fact that my first films were horror films." The director of such spine-tinglers as *Naked* (1997) and *The Brood* (1979), and the more mainstream *The Fly* (1986) and *Dead Ringers* (1988), was in Paris last week to become a chaperon of the *Order of Arts and Letters*, the first Canadian director to receive the ribbon that comes with the honor. Cronenberg, 47, said that proof of the odd tastes of French moviegoers is the continuing popularity of *Jenny Holzer* films, which has always anguished North Americans. But he offers a plausible theory: "There's the story that the French have since heard his awful voice. When the man who had always dubbed Lewy's voice died, Lewy's next movie was supposedly a huge failure." Added Cronenberg: "You'd think that the audiophiles would have seen his films in English, but you never know."

Cronenberg: offering a plausible theory



### For better and for fun

Canadian cartoonist Lynn Johnston says that her work was discovered by patrons on an evening-room table. Her first break emerged from drawings she did for a doctor friend's ceiling. From there, she graduated to *Better or for Women*, and now *Johnston*, 49, is co-writing six animated special hours on the strip. Said Johnston: "I tried to be a fine artist, but it wasn't a modest artist, but it wasn't as cartooning."

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## ENVIRONMENT

# Where the geese go

*Controversy could delay a wetlands project*

Each spring and fall, hundreds of thousands of ducks, geese and other migratory birds descend on Ontario's Oak Hammock Marsh, about 40 km north of Winnipeg. Extending over an area of about 6,000 acres, the marsh is home at various times of the year to at least 260 bird species, as well as dozens of varieties of fish, muskrat and reptiles. Naturalists say that it is one of the finest wetland areas in North America. Now, some environmentalists say that the future of the marsh may be in jeopardy because on Oct. 25, the Manitoba government licensed

posed the construction project in December, 1988, they have claimed that it is environmentally acceptable. They say that the buildings will cause significant environmental damage or cause migratory birds from using the marsh. The proposed complex includes a \$4.5-million, two-story office building that would house the organization's administrative offices. Next door, there would be a \$4.5-million centre containing exhibits and information on the marsh, jointly funded by Ducks Unlimited, Ottawa and the Conservation provincial government of Premier Gary Filmon. Ducks Unlimited officials say that the buildings have "environmentally friendly" features, including noise control to prevent disturbance and screened windows to discourage birds from flying into them.

Opponents of the proposed complex say that Ducks Unlimited is pursuing its own interests at the expense of the environment. David Foster, a member of the Environmental Council, says that he fears that the project will lead to other developments being constructed in the area that would affect migratory birds and their habitat. Said Wayne Delly, chairman of the Environmental Council: "Our member's concern is the prospect of allowing a private enterprise to get its offices in a public wildlife management area."

For their part, officials of Ducks Unlimited insist that the project will not harm the ecosystems of Oak Hammock Marsh. Said executive vice-president Stewart McKeown: "We have always proceeded with the intent that our activities would not only protect the environment of the area, but enhance it." He added that construction would likely begin next summer. But the growing controversy over the project made that schedule increasingly uncertain.

MALCOLM BRIDGMAN in Winnipeg



Geese at Oak Hammock: 'environmentally friendly'

Ducks Unlimited, an international wetlands conservation organization that is widely supported by hunters, to build a \$9-million office complex on the marsh. Critics say that the complex, which would house the Canadian corporate headquarters of the organization, will harm the sensitive ecosystem of the area. The plan has gained the provincial natural resources department and Ducks Unlimited, which has 125,000 Canadian members, against environmentalists and naturalists. Even the Manitoba Environmental Council, which advises the province on environmental issues, voted against the proposal.

Since Ducks Unlimited officials first pro-



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## FILMS

# Southern exposure

*A black urban family confronts the past*

TO SLEEP WITH ANGER  
Directed by Charles Burnett

Sometimes it seems that Spike Lee is the only black filmmaker working in Hollywood. He certainly acts like it. In both *Do the Right Thing* (1989), his anatomy of a race riot, and *My Brother Sam* (his comedy about the loves of a jazzman, Lee displays his ego with the prominence of a running shoe label). And his bold vision of black culture, for all its earnestness, is constructed by rule posturing. It is refreshing, then, to see another black American filmmaker take a more mature approach. Writer-director Charles Burnett's first major feature, *To Sleep with Anger*, is a brilliant domestic drama leaving sobriety ever assurance. Set amid the suburban sprawl of Los Angeles, not the streets of New York City, it finds wisdom in strong female characters while exposing truly horrendous.

Burnett's remarkable script glides between

disquieting drama and strange humor—with a quicksilver plot of voodoo.

Directed with sensitivity and cunning, *To Sleep with Anger* is about a black family that is rocked out of its middle-class bubble by an unexpected break with its southern roots. Gideon (Paul Butler) and his wife, Sene (Mary Alice), are caught between two worlds. He still wears checkers in his backyard and sings in old superstitions. She applies her folk medicine as a midwife. They have two brooding sons with tangles of their own: Junior (Carl Lumbly), who remains loyal to his father's work ethic, and Eater Brother (Richard Brooks), a so-called Rhymer (black urban professional) who neglects his parents and his wife.

One day, Harry (Dennis Hopper) turns up on their doorstep. He is an old friend from the Old South whom they have not seen for 30 years. As sons of dark magic hunters about Harry. He carries a mean-looking knife with a rabbit's foot attached to it. These are stories about men who might have killed back home. And as he oversteps his welcome, his spiky presence casts a shadow over the household. Mysteriously, Gideon falls ill, while Harry assigns his patriarchal role and addresses the simmering feud between Gideon's sons. Eater Brother is easy prey for Harry, who draws him into his sinister world of mystical rituals, voodoo lore and sleep

lapses.

Essentially, *To Sleep with Anger* is the story of a family possessed. But the line between good and evil is as elusive as the glass in Harry's eyes. Although his wicked spirit burns with a dangerous fire, it has a calming effect on the family's wounds. Gideon, best known for playing a white cop's addict in *Let's Do This* (1989), is mesmerizing in the lead role. Alice Adams, Sene's widow with aspen

new power. And Burnett, directing without a trace of artifice, leaves his characters free to create their own peculiar magic.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



Gideon: mesmerizing lead

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## FILMS

# Straight-arrow hero

Kevin Costner touches the native earth

DANCES WITH WOLVES  
Directed by Kevin Costner

Stake executives had reason to be nervous about *Dances with Wolves*. For one thing, it is a western. And, aside from the wilderness *Young Guns*, there has not been a hit western in recent memory. In fact, Hollywood's finest wilderness films, *Whiteoats & Gold* (1986), was a western. For another reason, *Dances with Wolves* is about Indians, and Hollywood's conventional wisdom has it that Indians are a poor draw at the box office. Even more audacious, the movie is almost three hours long, and much of the dialogue is in the Sioux's Lakota language, with English subtitles. Its director and star, Kevin Costner, insisted on making the final cut, although he had never directed before. There have been a few exceptions in Hollywood about "Kevin's Gate." But Costner, who spent \$2.8 million of his own money to complete the \$21 million movie, has acquired himself admirably. Despite some flaws, *Dances with Wolves* is an act of astounding beauty with a rare purity of vision.

While mimicking almost every Hollywood trope, Costner has removed some of its most cherished traditions. He has created an adventure with hot-blooded action, breathtaking

scenery and a noble theme—a spectacle with the sort of wilderness grandeur that has become almost extinct. *Dances with Wolves* does for the skies and plains of South Dakota what *Lawrence of Arabia* did for the desert. And in the middle of an unblemished American wilderness, the director has cast himself as an unadorned American hero.

He plays a soldier named John Dunbar, an extraordinarily lonely loner from whom he befriends the Sioux and reports the genocide of his own people. Unlike *Avatar's* Cameron, however, Dunbar is currently looking at psychological torment. He is an ex-planted hero, ingrained at the risk of being boring. But his—and the movie's—straight-arrow altruism seems uncontroverted. And although *Dances with Wolves* contains classic Hollywood clichés of white heroism and valorism, it also portrays Indians with unprecedented respect and authenticity.

Among the cast are a few Canadian native actors, including Graham Greene and Thelma Houston. In outcrops with MacArthur last week, they both did strong graces for the director. Still, Greene, who has a prominent role in a traditional Sioux medicine man named Kicking Bird. "It was a real test working with the man. He has a lot of integrity," Costner, who plays Kicking Bird's wife, Black Shield,

Scene from *Dances with Wolves*, showcasing beauty, purity of vision

called the movie "an aesthetic breakthrough in Hollywood's perception of native people."

Adapted by Laurence van Michael Blake from his own novel, *Dances with Wolves* is a tale of deerskin simplicity. It begins with a scene from the Civil War. Dunbar, a Union cavalryman, has been so severely wounded that he wants to die. With great agony, he struggles back to the front line and makes a suicidal ride as one of a platoon of Confederate troops. Miraculously he survives and is promoted to the rank of lieutenant. "The strangeness of this life," he concludes, "cannot be measured. In trying to kill myself, I was made a hero." As a reward, Dunbar is allowed to choose his next posting. He decides on a leading outpost called Fort Sedgewick. "I want to see the frontier before it's gone," he explains. But the fort is just a collection of deserted huts. Unbeknownst, Dunbar sets up a one-man headquarters and he goes to work, waiting for Indians, buffalo and the U.S. Army.

It is a solitary vigil. Slowly, he makes friends with a wolf that roams the edge of the fort. They develop a custom trait that symbolizes the relationship he will forge with the Indians. After a chance meeting with Kicking Bird, who quickly flees an horsemanship, Dunbar writes in his journal, "I have made first contact with a wild Indian. The man I encountered was a magnificent-looking fellow."

Behaving more like a boy-scout anthropologist than an army officer, Dunbar decides to seek out the Indians on their own turf. He finds a sympathetic ally in Kicking Bird, and gradually allays the tribe's suspicions. He grows himself by alerting the Sioux to the presence of a buffalo herd—and participating in the hunt, a thrilling spectacle involving thousands of buff-

to. He also helps the Sioux fight the marauding Pawnee. But as Dunbar reveals his identity, he realizes that the white men's onslaught will eventually shatter his peaceful utopia.

The narrative trails off in midstream, with not a final ending, leaving the strange impression that, even after three hours, the movie could be longer. As it is, the attention to visual beauty leaves some of the characters thinly developed, notably Dunbar's lover, Stands With A Fist (Mary McDonnell) is an orphaned white woman who was adopted by the Sioux. Struggling to remember her mother tongue, she also serves as Dunbar's translator. Their union—after a summer of courting, their passion forced.

The native characters, meanwhile, are intensely charismatic. In fact, one of the most frustrating things about the movie is that it takes so long to get to know them—and by then it is over. By cinematic standards, there is not enough story in Greene's wild vision to justify a three-hour epic. Yet the pace seems natural, conveying a sense of real time in a timeless landscape. In keeping with native philosophy, the lead is the movie's biggest star. There are long stretches with no dialogue, and when characters do talk, it takes time to connect. But that is what the movie is about—telling across a cultural divide.

The heavy use of Lakota dialogue is especially effective. Costner relied on local Sioux language instructors during last summer's four-month shoot in South Dakota. And before the cameras rolled, the cast spent about a month learning Lakota, a foreign tongue even to most of the Indian actors. "It puts you on a whole different plane," said Graham. "To speak Lakota in the scene was like being pure. It's a language that's in tune with the land."

Costner, too, speaks Lakota in the scene. And Costner says that he stubbornly resisted the studio's attempt to shoot the script in English. "He's a really tough customer, that Costner," she said. "He's very honest, basically. The way he directed felt absolutely true to me." The movie goes a long way towards dispelling stereotypes, she added. "People don't know the beauty of the people I come from—there is incredible inner beauty." Costner said that when she began working with Costner she was reminded of a prophecy by a native chief whose people were being displaced by the building of the railroad across the Canadian Prairies. Reviled Chief Crowfoot. "He said 'The white man are blinded and deafened by greed, but there will be a generation of their children who will see our lands.'"

Earlier films have depicted Indians as savage savages. Costner's movie helps Indians the balance. Without preaching, it portrays the struggle as both sides, the natives as civilized. Its hero is a king of the wild frontier who advocates in the age of David Lynch and his *Twin Peaks* cynicism: such single-minded idealism has been dashed. But in Costner's case, it appears gone. With *Dances with Wolves*, he has rebuffed Hollywood's formula to an elegant equation of truth and beauty.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON





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## Goofy and gangly

*A lanky hero enlivens a British satire of musicals*

TWO TALL GUYS  
Directed by Mel Smith

**N**o one makes comedies quite like the British. Artists ranging from Peter Sellers to the Monty Python troupe have pursued the art of absurdity with singular effectiveness. The Tall Guy, directed by Mel Smith, is a wonderfully daffy movie that stands up to the best tradition of English comedy. A rich satire of the London theatre world, it features an elaborate production of a West End musical based on the play The Elephant Man. Slightly better than the world's first musical about elephantiasis, "Elephant" includes earnest numbers with such lines as "He's got the kind of face you don't forget." Not since The Producers, Mel Brooks's parody of Broadway, has the stage been so effectively lampooned as a movie.

Deceptively opaque, Jeff Goldblum plays the tall guy, Doctor, a goofy, gangly American actor in London. He is working in the absurd and brainless second houses to a popular West End stage musical named Ron Anderson (real life name Ronni Colwell). A somewhat opaque actor, Anderson treats his straight man like dirt. And the rest of Doctor's life is no better. He shares a dank flat with Carmen (Geraldine James), a septuagenarian whose parade of lovers underscores Doctor's own vacant love life. He also suffers from chronic jaw tension. But while getting along alone at the hospital, he is greeted by true love in the form of a blonde nurse named Kate (Kirsten Thompson). She summons a Julie Andrews sort of reserve—until the nurse love with Doctor in a hilarious scene of sexual display. Getting along on all fronts, Doctor later lands the lead role in Elephant!

An ironic comedy, The Tall Guy follows a predictable formula. But the staging of musicals is polished enough to make the film almost as good as just slightly more ludicrous than The Phantom of the Opera. And the movie's backstage satire has the sting of authenticity. In fact, Jeff Goldblum's character, Carter, used to serve as straight man for Anderson, who had an act similar to his character. And he has worked with African and director Smith on the set. For the New York Observer, he wrote, good comedy is the product of mischievous complicity in Goldblum, the sporting American, a team of British backbones have found the perfect tall guy.

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MacLennan: defining the shared loneliness at the heart of the Canadian experience

## OBITUARY

# A passion for Canada

*Hugh MacLennan mapped the country's psyche*

**I**f Canada ever had a spiritual home, it was the James Joyce Hotel and its environs—it was where Hugh MacLennan the Montreal novelist, essayist and businessman who died last week at 63. The author of seven major works of fiction, the best of which, The Watch that Ends the Night (1958), ranks as the great Canadian novel, and six magnificent non-fiction collections, he was no recent Canadian, as much as he was in his writing. To longtime friends in the Canadian climate, he spent 15 years of his youth living as a tenant at the back of his parents' Victorian house. And despite international success that included a Rhodes Scholarship, a Guggenheim Fellowship and a PhD from Princeton, he never considered leaving or trading anything but his Canada. His first Governor General's Literary Award-winning book, the novel he did not return.

His best-known work, The Englishman, which became the foundation for defining the shared loneliness that is at the heart of the Canadian experience, brought him little reply except of only \$4,500. Worse, although he had taught English literature with distinction at McGill University in Montreal for more than three decades, and enjoyed guarantees of young readers, in 1949 he was increasingly looked out of his modest office space (That city's Concordia University then made alternate quarters available to him.)

Some of this sound his writing or his outlook. His prose, which had the earthy quality of a hard storyteller, was saturated with sadness, humor and candor, the passionate cry of a writer determined to assert the unshakable view that modernism is more than a meaningless accident. He was at his best chronicling slow love, examining man's and women's feelings, portraying their self-imposed delusions and their subconscious protection of one another. The truth that he revealed was not in the least sensational just truth.

A friend and mentor, MacLennan wrote the introduction to one of his books and became a prolific contributor to Maclean's magazine 33

minor articles in the magazine. When I asked him how he picked his themes, he replied, in that melancholy Canadianic burr of his, that they picked him. "You get things through the poems," he explained, and left a note.

Released from the novel's bonds of plot and characterization, his essays succeeded in portraying what U.S. literary critic Edmund Wilson called "a point of view surprisingly and repeatedly different from anything else I have in English or Canada way of looking at things." His best-selling book was the non-fictional The Colour of Canada. At one point, it warns against our absorption by the Americans and shows Canada to not "a life apart of a girl in the back of a bus, with one eye on the meter and the other on the profile of the determined man who took her out that night."

Equally scornful of anything British or American, MacLennan passionately guarded his Celtic heritage. Born in Glen Ross, N.S., in 1897 to surgeon Samuel J. MacLennan and his wife, Katherine, he credited his Highland roots for the sensitivity of his perceptions. "A Celt," he once confided to me, "has a dog-eat-dog sound that an Anglo-Saxon simply doesn't get." Confrontations of academic circles, whose books he dismissed as "parody of the bourgeoisie," he believed that a writer must be engaged with the issues of his time, asking D. H. Lawrence a direct question: "the novel treats the point at which the soul meets history."

He was obsessed by Pierre Trudeau. "The light in his eyes has a subtle and curious Giorgio de Chirico quality," I observed once the painter of Mona Lisa herself could capture it," he wrote me, and then blasted Trudeau for being a chaotist. "The next contest is to a conference in the Laurentians and just borrowed money and post Frank Scott and me up in a clip net." Another time, he invited MacLennan to stay in 24 Sussex for lunch, at the end of which he departed in his limousine, and I took an hour to get a taxi to the airport.

MacLennan's last years were filled with suffering. After he was expelled from the McGill office, the cancer diagnosed. I only found out about it through a change of address card. His apartment was threatened with conversion to a condominium. His second wife, Frances (first wife Dorothy Duncan died in 1957), was struck by lightning and suffered from disease, which led to his wife's death from 100 food poisoning. "The symptoms are pernicious," he wrote me. "One wakes up and believes one is dead."

None of that deterred his passion for life in his country. "I have never enjoyed my life more," he noted in his last letter, sent earlier this year. He complained that Canadian politics were running at least 40 years behind the times and that Quebec had gone crazy as never before. He felt not at all certain that Canada would be left, except to oblivion. "Some fine words," he wrote me, "but I am not sure."

Neither ever went out of Hugh MacLennan. He was a free man and a great writer, and we were lucky to have known him at a time and place that had him for its true owner.

PETER C. NEWMAN



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## BOOKS

# Beery eloquence

*Poet Al Purdy produces his first novel at 71*

**B**orn in kind, poet Al Purdy sat in the fading light of his living room, now occupying the noontime chairs in his life. Outside the window of his house at Ameliasburg, Ont., 370 km east of Toronto, the familiar expanse of Roblin Lake glistened in the late autumn sunlight. Inside, the bookshelves lining the walls were strangely empty. After more than three decades on the lake, Purdy and his wife of 48 years, Renée, are gradually moving their belongings to a second residence in Sidney, B.C., near Victoria. The waters on Vancouver Island, Purdy explained, are a lot easier for a man of 71. Yet it is obvious that the writer's Ontario landscape still has a profound hold on his imagination. It continues to inspire memorable poems, including several in his 1990 volume *The River in the Shore* (McClelland & Stewart, \$5.95). And it provides the setting for the poet's first novel, *A Splinter in the Heart* (McClelland & Stewart, \$24.95), an affectionate coming-of-age tale

based on Purdy's own boyhood in nearby Toronto.

With less than 30 poetry collections and two Governor General's Literary Awards (for *The Cariboo Heron* in 1965 and *The Collected Poems of Al Purdy* in 1986), Purdy has served himself a lofty place in the pantheon of Canadian writers. Poet and children's writer Dennis Lee claims that Purdy has done for Canada what Walt Whitman once did for the United States—he has made it recognizable to its inhabitants. "He has mapped the Canadian world," Lee once wrote, "with an eloquence and beery gentleness."

Lee's use of "beery" is instructive. Purdy, whose fatherless life in legends, writes with the voice of an solitary working man who can drink and travel with the roughness of them. But behind the apparent informality lies a skilled poet who, at his best, can touch the visible world with a tenderness and recovery clarity few writers can match.

Purdy is also a skilled prose writer who, over the years, has turned out short stories and articles, as well as radio dramas. But *A Splinter in the Heart* is his first major attempt to treat as fiction some of the thoughts, themes, particularly the influence of the past, shaping the present. Purdy said that the idea for a boyhood novel has been with him for years, but that he was finally goaded to write it by a West Coast bookster who doubted he could do it.

The book's hero, 16-year-old Patrick Cameron, is—like Purdy himself once was—a fatherless boy growing up in Toronto. An avid long-distance runner, Patrick takes long jaunts into the surrounding countryside. His running, expertly evoked by Purdy, toughens his body, opens his spirit—and leads him to the door of a romantic young woman called Jean. He falls in love with her, but loses her at the end. "Patrick is sadder than I was," Purdy said. "I was scared of girls."

Growing from Purdy, much of *A Splinter in the Heart* seems surprisingly tame. But its predictable character portraits and conventional prose are belated by passages of hypnotic vividness. The description of Patrick's once-fading jump off a high bridge into the Trent River, a feat Purdy himself once accomplished, is a small masterpiece. "The river felt thick as he entered it, another liquid no solid," he writes. "He went down like a slow bullet; his lungs a person boy outside himself." Purdy also infuses a lot of suspense into the climax, when Patrick races his rival, Kevin, to save several people from the imminent explosion of

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# STANDARD LIFE

## COMMUNICATION

### Opening a new world

*A cable TV service helps the visually impaired*

Because Gerald Dirks is an associate professor of political science, newspapers and magazines are a vital component of his work. Dirks, an staff at Brock University in St. Catharines, Ont., says that he has to be aware of the contents of periodicals so that he can keep abreast of international affairs, the field in which he specializes. But Dirks's quest for knowledge has a high cost. A section of scientific glasses, a device that shields the lens of the eye, Dirks is totally blind. As a result, he often pays students \$6 an hour to read to him. But that is likely to change after Dec. 1, when a new cable television service called VoicePrint is scheduled to begin. Staffed by teams of volunteer readers, the Toronto-based service will make available a wealth of information from the print media and other sources to about 600,000 visually impaired Canadians across the country.

Similar to services in Australia, Britain, the United States and Sweden, VoicePrint will provide blind and partially blind Canadians with readings from Canadian newspapers, consumer magazines and special-interest publications 24 hours a day. The material will be read by more than 260 volunteers, including such stars of network television news as CTV's Lloyd Robertson and the CBC's Peter Mansbridge. Until now, Dirks, a visually impaired Canadian, could listen to news programs on radio and television. But it was difficult to obtain more detailed information on national and international issues. "We get the hard facts from broadcast, but we miss more."

The recommendation for the creation of VoicePrint came out of a 1988 report by a committee that included representatives of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind (CNIB) and Ottawa's department of communication. The report said the information needs of the visually impaired were not completely served by broadcast means. As a result, CNIB asked early last year asked Dirks to serve as chairman of the newly created National Broadcast Reading Service, which will operate VoicePrint from the city's Toronto headquarters. Initially, Ottawa will pay for \$100,000 of VoicePrint's estimated \$300,000 to \$306,000 annual budget, with the rest being raised by a public fund-raising campaign, from corporate donors and from government agencies whose information is broadcast on VoicePrint.

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### COMMUNICATION

ing Maclean's (owner, publisher of Maclean's, have agreed to allow material from their publica-  
tions to be read at the air. As well, 15 cable  
companies, including Multivision, Hester Cable  
Ltd., Rogers Cablevision Inc., Videotron  
Ltd. and Furdy Cable Ltd., have agreed to  
provide channels and frequencies for delivery  
of the service across the country. The CRTC al-  
lows television channels, Newfoundland, will  
transmit VoicePrint's signal by satellite.

Although an estimated 70 per cent of visually  
impaired Canadians are more than 60 years old,  
Ian Sutton, the general manager of VoicePrint,  
said that the service will be aimed at listeners  
from a wide variety of ages and backgrounds. "It  
is an audience for whom this will open a whole  
new world," Sutton said. "They have been  
deprived of these materials all their lives, and all  
of a sudden they are going to be able to get  
them." For his part, Deeks said that the ser-  
vice's potential audience was expected to go far  
beyond the visually impaired. He said that  
VoicePrint will be useful to physically disabled  
people who cannot handle newspapers and mag-  
azines, as well as to Canadians who have difficul-  
ty reading because of dyslexia and to older Cana-  
dians who had small print used to read.

Sutton said that readers have started receiv-  
ing material to be broadcast in Braille, in-  
cluding background articles on the Persian Gulf  
crisis and pieces on environmental issues. Sut-  
ton said that more than 50 per cent of Voice-  
Print's content will be Canadian. The newspa-  
pers that VoicePrint will draw on include the  
Hillier Chronicle Herald, the Toronto Globe  
and Mail, the Edmonton Journal and the  
Kootenay Star, while the magazines include  
Maclean's and Saturday Night as well as such  
American periodicals as Sports Illustrated, The  
New Yorker and Playboy. As well, there will be  
regular coverage of issues of interest to the  
visually impaired, including access to jobs, hous-  
ing and transportation.

Deeks says that plans are already under way  
for regional programming to supplement  
VoicePrint's national service. According to  
Deeks, Rogers Cablevision has agreed to  
provide \$500,000 over five years to fund a  
local daily broadcast in British Columbia begin-  
ning next year. Similar regional services  
will likely emerge in the Prairie provinces,  
Ontario and the Maritimes. As well, when the  
Canadian Radio-television and Telecommuni-  
cations Commission issued an operating  
license to VoicePrint last month, it authorized  
the network to provide distribution of a similar  
French service, which has served Quebec for  
five years, in other parts of Canada. Deeks  
noted that the CRTC also told VoicePrint that it  
would have to be responsive to its listeners. "It  
will be like the television networks," said  
Deeks. "If something loses popularity, we will  
replace it with something else." But Deeks said  
that he is convinced that VoicePrint will be  
popular with visually impaired Canadians. The  
only problem that may arise, said Deeks, will be  
in providing enough of the material that blind  
Canadians have been deprived of until now.

JAMES DEACON

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## THEATRE

# Lionhearted drama

Judith Thompson explores the urban jungle

**I**n Judith Thompson's fascinating new play, *Lion in the Streets*, the ghost of a murdered young girl falls through every scene, a poignant reflection of the lives and suffering of the other characters. That a drifting approach for Thompson, who in her 10-year career has used absurdist, sexual abuse, suicide, wife-beating and even to explore the secret, inner life of individuals. Her boldness for extreme situations has earned her a reputation as a dark writer. But she explores the darkness with such exuberant intelligence, humor and empathy that, at their best, her plays beam with the healing light of revelation. For Ugo Kavala, artistic director of Toronto's Tarragon Theatre (where *Lion* runs until Dec. 18), Thompson "has the confidence to tackle all those parts of ourselves I'd like not to see." And she does it, he adds, "in language that is at once generally poetic yet clinically exact."

Kavala's theatre is currently at the centre of a mini-boom of Thompson productions. A period of *The Greek-souther* (1986), the playwright's first and possibly most successful drama, a missing from Nov. 13 until Dec. 16, co-directed by Kavala and Andy McKim. And Thompson herself directs the Tarragon production of *Lion in the Streets*, incorporating some revisions since the work opened in June at the off-Market Ltd. International Theatre Festival in Toronto. Meanwhile, another production of *Lion* is maturing at Ottawa's Great Canadian Theatre Company until Nov. 25. In Montreal, Thompson's 1987 drama, *I am Rivers*, has had six French-language productions at La Locomotive, where it will play until Dec. 15 under the title *Je suis le fleuve*. And on Dec. 5, her Governor General's Award-winning *White during Day* (1984) will open at the Grand Theatre in London, Ont.

Thompson, 46, combines a full-blown life with her writing and directing. She and her husband, University of Toronto English professor Gregor Campbell, have three children under the age of 7. In a recent interview with *Maclean's*, Thompson spoke with the relaxed introspective calm of someone used to weighing her ideas carefully. "To me, tragedy is never depressing," she said, "because it rips open a kind of huge shield we have to walk around in, and you feel electric

led, just like going out into the fresh air."

Thompson says that, for her, ripping open that shield of mortality has become more troubling over the years. In *The Greek-souther*, she graphically portrayed the murder of a baby. Now, she doubts that she could watch the scene. "I was 25 when I wrote that," she commented. "I had no real idea of what murder was. I think a baby was like a doll to me." In contrast, now she feels disgusted about the losses—poverty, violence, sexual molestations.



Spiked, Julian Richings in *Lion in the Streets*; Thompson (below): forays into darkness

ties—that threatens her children and others. "I feel like I'm living in a war—in London in the 1940s," she said. "It bomb-casts deep in my soul. There is a loss in the soul."

That awareness runs through Thompson's latest play, where she questions her feelings of fear and loss on the figure of hotel lobby (Gray Wright), a Portuguese immigrant girl who was murdered 17 years earlier. Throughout *Lion in the Streets*, lobby's ghost drifts in and out of the ruined lives of the adults around her. While they struggle to come to terms with mental infidelity, cancer and other afflictions, lobby tries to understand what happened to her.

Thompson likes to use short, vivid scenes that start reflectively, then explode in

symbolic, poetic exegesis. When Joanne (Chloe Colville) tells her best friend, Rhonda (Jane Egidio), that she has been cancer, the moment is appropriately given. But then, Joanne stresses that she wishes to commit suicide like Shakespeare's heroine Ophelia—slowly drowning in a beautiful dress fringed with flowers. Her captivated contemplation is punctuated by Rhonda, who tells her "You're taking cigarette packages and used condoms and old toupous (hair) by You're taking a bunch of leeches and gods on the banks, yikes" at yikes.

At times, the outrageous humor of such scenes distances the audience from the pain on stage. But while *Lion*'s emotional effects occasionally grow numb, the play always engages serious attention. And at the end of the drama, when lobby climbs onto the sun's water-based moon, *Lion in the Streets* becomes the mysterious, deeply over-literate power that only a handful of artists know how to harness.

Born in 1951 in Montreal, and raised mostly in Kingston (her father was a professor of

psychology, her mother an amateur theatre director), Thompson originally intended to be an actor. But at the National Theatre School, an elite drama school where the students got on music and language—she discovered the joys of weaving dialogue, and decided to become a writer instead. Since then, she has maintained a fierce dedication to live theatre. Although she occasionally writes for television, only theatre, she says, allows her to move "beyond naturalism to something far more real." A good play, she says, lets the viewer "step, look and feel the life within. Without that, we're just walking, dried-up, cardboard cutouts." If that sounds like a psychotherapist's talking, it is no accident. Thompson says that if she were not a playwright, she would probably be a psychologist. Judging by the painful yet exhilarating accuracy of the insights scattered through *Lion in the Streets*, she would have been a good one.

JOHN HAMBRO





## Converted Commies face the real test

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Was anyone really surprised when some nut wandered into Red Square the other day with a turned-off shotgun and got off two shots, 200 feet away from Mikhail Gorbachev, before being wrestled to earth? Not really. Gorbys and the other dignitaries were in the real spot: they knew it was time to mark the 25th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Considering how fast the Muscovites are being "westernized," the appearance of some lousy nutcase of Len Harvey Oswald was inevitable.

The press at the end of the universe has been doing stunts ever since the fall of the Berlin Wall at the speed with which the dirty Commies have been embracing our values. McDonald's opening in Moscow—proof that there is a God after all. Western capitalists rushing to Prague and Budapest, eager for business. Poles eager for blue jeans and Jose Puma reverse tape. It's wonderful—Boris Yeltsin is his heaven and all's right with the world.

There are, mind you, minor corals. The East Germans have found, to their surprise and acute consternation, that among the gas they have received is a woman in the driver's seat. Our experts agree as a bundle: you can't pick and choose.

Kommunistische Praxen: the daily Moscow newspaper, has sent its newly intrepid reporters out at the towns to shop around for goods to show up the new growth industry: a Soviet black market in hard-earned. The writers found everything from homemade zip guns to the ever-popular U.S. automatic from Israel, and three grenade launchers. They turned down the offer of a tank at a knockdown price of \$20,000.

All this is good stuff for students of human nature, the astute hidden experts in Pravda 100 who will tell you that there is nothing really different between a good burger of Cleveland and a citizen of Omaha if they use a chainsaw for a little spare cash. The Soviet fans have found that the new market has gone to become of the animal caretakers that have sprung up in the transition between the dying czarist economy and the supposed free market system unleashed by the beleaguered Gorbys.



The new descendants of Al Capone, to protect their turf, need to arm themselves—just as the new kids on the block in the Washington, D.C. drug wars blast each other away, so as to have access to eager customers. Chicago remains to Moscow: our gifts are nothing if not attractive.

We have so many things we can contribute to them, as our audience: We've got better than hamburgers, mark the word. Just as poor Gorbys is rebuffed at home for accepting the Nobel Peace Prize for upholding to all how much the same race was, we have two chips trying to erase the wrong image from their reputations—squaring like little Napoleons.

Joe Clark would appear before us in isolation, for his then-mentor Charles Atlas imitation, if it were not for George Bush trying the same. Murray as his domestic popularity fades. The converted Commies, having studied all those who never really had to stand for election, will

now be introduced to those domestic politicians who will do anything and say anything in attempts to save their seats, if not necessarily their souls.

We have other gifts that, inevitably, will shift their way. Darryl Strawberry, a large and strong young man who can hit a baseball long distances—if not consistently—has signed a \$20-million, five-year contract and is winning Mr. Strawberry, all of 28, has joined the L.A. Dodgers for more money than his to hit but is still missing and hoping about his previous employer, the New York Mets, who were so sure of it to offer him only \$15 million.

Thus, the Russian must understand, to what will come to them eventually when the benefits of capitalism can flow on their heads. Mr. Strawberry, on his way to his \$20 million, broke his wife's nose in 1986 after a game (which he presumably lost), fought with his teammates in 1987, 1988 and 1989, missed spring training, was arrested for alleged assault with a deadly weapon during an argument with his wife in January, 1990, was shipped off for "alcoholic rehabilitation" in June, he was drafted February, 1990, and in November, 1990, is rewarded with a much money in the Ukraine potato crop.

This is the capitalist way, as the presently confused Russians will in time appreciate, as their equivalent of Strawberry change in their soccer and hockey industries into cash, a little can start fall. It can't all be buy-meets-trouble. The grim realism of the free market system will become apparent. What is most apparent is that so massive overgrown youth, who lost up his wife, is worth 20 million dollars in the great scheme of things.

The great scheme of things is something called television, which will do anything and pay anything in its means to keep here to provide the necessary media to encourage young muscular men to let small-minded long distances—once it becomes truly.

It is going to take our own comrades, newly admitted to the capitalist fold, some time to absorb these unexpected delights that come—however awkwardly—with the supposed study level of bread and butter in the shops. Therefore, it would be unwise to advise them too soon that bread is never-doesn't-of-sweat-soon will come their way.

So eager are they to march into our century, they even now are leaving their own stock market, as late, as circus as the dams, they will find their own from Soviet, then own Michael Milken. Have they got a taste against them. We have experts for them they haven't imagined yet.

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